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Media representation of the Greek debt crisis: a corpus-assisted
discourse analysis of the *Guardian* online news

Mediální zobrazení řecké dluhové krize: korpusová analýza diskurzu
v online zpravodajství deníku *the Guardian*

DIPLOMOVÁ PRÁCE

Bc. Tereza Pavlíčková

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Vedoucí diplomové práce:
Mgr. Anna Čermáková, Ph. D.

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Abstract

The thesis deals with discourse surrounding the topic of the Greek debt crisis (GDC) in the online version of the British daily newspaper the *Guardian* (www.theguardian.com). The study builds on a bilateral division of the EU public discourse on the economic crisis, distinguishing between two opposing perspectives: “the Northern diagnosis” (DeGrauwe 2011: 5) prevailing in Germany and other creditor states, and ‘the Southern opinion’ on the situation held mainly by the debtor countries. The thesis examines the position of the *Guardian* in relation to this bilateral discourse framework. The *Guardian* represents a liberal, socially aware and traditionally EU-supportive newspaper that is published in a country which counts among the Europe’s leading economic and political powers, a country that is also characterized by strong Eurosceptic tendencies. These aspects form a complex background with regard to the EEC/GDC discourse framework. There are factors supporting both “the Northern diagnosis” of the GDC and those suggesting inclination to ‘the Southern opinion’. The analysis, dealing with a self-collected corpus (altogether 349 texts, 277 973 words) consisting of the *Guardian* online news on the GDC is situated - both theoretically and methodologically - in the field of Corpus-assisted discourse studies (CADS). The collected data are examined with the use of *WordSmith 6* corpus analysis software. Two main corpus linguistic concepts, i.e. keywords and collocation, are used. The analysis is further supported by the examination of the metaphorical language. The analysis concentrates on evaluative language and stylistic effects and draws on five core indicators of anti-Greek bias, i.e. of “the Northern diagnosis” of the crisis (Pavlakakis 2013). The analysis results provide evidence showing that the *Guardian* discourse on the GDC does not involve any of the five core aspects of anti-Greek bias. At the same time, however, the newspaper does not adopt straightforward opposite of this narrative - the antithetical ‘Southern opinion’ on the GDC. According to the analysis, the *Guardian* provides a complex, non-stereotypical picture of the crisis in which the role of the Greek domestic problems contributing to the GDC is not underestimated and where, at the same time, a particular emphasis is placed on describing Greece as a country subjected to a harmful external influence represented by the Troika GDC management. It is the strongly negative and critical discourse construction of austerity measures, together with attention focused on the negative impact of these measures on average Greek populace, which, places the *Guardian* closer to the Southern opinion. In general, the study shows that the *Guardian* is a pro-European newspaper which supports the EU solidarity and political integration. In its reporting on the GDC, however, the newspaper’s left-leaning,

liberal orientation, characterised by an interest in social issues, prevails over its otherwise supportive view of the EU.

Keywords: corpus linguistics, corpus-assisted discourse analysis, media discourse, the Guardian, Greek debt crisis, European economic crisis discourse framework, anti-Greek bias.

Abstrakt

Diplomová práce se zaměřuje na diskurz spojený s tématem řecké dluhové krize v online zpravodajství britského deníku the *Guardian* (www.theguardian.com). Výzkum se opírá o diskurzní rámec evropské ekonomické krize zahrnující dva protikladné výklady krize, výklad převažující na severu Evropy mezi věřitelskými zeměmi a pohled převládající v jižní Evropě mezi zadluženými státy. Analýza zkoumá postavení zvoleného deníku ve vztahu k tomuto bilaterálnímu diskurznímu rámci. The *Guardian* je liberální, sociálně zaměřený, proevropsky orientovaný deník vydávaný v Británii, která se politicky a ekonomicky řadí k nejsilnějším státům Evropy, a která se zároveň vyznačuje silnou náklonností k euroskepticismu. Tento komplexní kontext dává *Guardianu* zajímavou výchozí pozici vůči zkoumanému diskurznímu rámci evropské ekonomické krize. V charakteristice deníku lze najít rysy, které by mohly vypovídat o tendenci deníku k postoji zastávanému mezi silnými věřitelskými ekonomikami, a současně i rysy, které mohou svědčit o náklonnosti k postoji zadlužených států jihu, tedy malých ekonomik periferie, které jsou pod tlakem z centra EU. Pro účely výzkumu byl sesbíráán korpus z online zpravodajství deníku the *Guardian* na téma řecké dluhové krize (277 973 slov). Teoreticky a metodologicky práce spadá do oblasti analýzy diskurzu pomocí korpusových nástrojů (*Corpus-assisted discourse studies*, CADS). Sesbíraná data jsou analyzována pomocí korpusového nástroje *WordSmith 6*. Využity jsou dvě z hlavních korpusových metod: klíčová slova a kolokace. Analýza je dále doplněna částí zaměřenou na metaforický jazyk. Analýza se zaměřuje na 5 indikátorů negativního (stereotypního) zobrazování Řecka, které jsou typické pro vůdčí věřitelské státy Evropy, (Pavlakakis 2013). Poznatky získané na základě analýzy v této práci ukazují, že diskurz na téma řecké dluhové krize v *Guardianu* neobsahuje žádný z těchto pěti hlavních indikátorů. Deník zároveň neprezentuje přímý opak tohoto postoje - tj. interpretaci krize vlastní zadluženým státům jihu. *Guardian* podává komplexní, nestereotypní obraz krize, ve kterém je

zohledňována řada aspektů, včetně vnitrostátních problémů Řecka přispívajících k vzniklé situaci, a kde je zároveň kladen důraz na zobrazení Řecka jako země podrobené škodlivému vnějšímu působení v podobě řešení krize ze strany tzv. Trojky (EU, ECB, IMF). Právě silný důraz na negativní a kritické vykreslení úsporných opatření stanovených Trojkou výměnou za finanční pomoc, společně s věnováním pozornosti negativním dopadům těchto kroků na běžné řecké obyvatelstvo, staví *the Guardian* v rámci diskurzního rámce evropské ekonomické krize na stranu verze výkladu zastávané zadluženými zeměmi. *Guardian* je proevropským listem podporujícím myšlenku evropské solidarity a politické integrace. V souvislosti s řeckou dluhovou krizí však převládá levicové, liberální a sociálně orientované zaměření deníku nad jeho obecně kladným postojem vůči konceptu Evropské unii.

Klíčová slova: korpusová lingvistika, CADS, mediální diskurz, *the Guardian*, řecká dluhová krize, diskurzní rámec evropské ekonomické krize, stereotypní zobrazování Řeků.

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List of abbreviations

GDC - Greek debt crisis

EEC - commonly used to denote **the European Economic Community**;
here used as an abbreviation for **the European economic crisis**.

EC - Eurozone crisis

CL - Corpus linguistics

CADS - Corpus-assisted discourse studies

CDA - Critical discourse analysis

RC - Reference corpus

KW - Keyword

CMT - Cognitive/Conceptual Metaphor Theory

MP - Metaphorical pattern

MPA - Metaphorical pattern analysis

Typefaces and fonts

Times New Roman: default typeface.

Italics: used for titles (e.g., names of newspapers/ their online versions, the analysed corpus, tools used for the analysis, etc.) and to mark analysed linguistic units (KWs, collocates).

Bold and underline: used for highlighting in quotes from the corpus.

“double quotation marks”: used to indicate quoted words and quotations.

‘single quotation marks’: to indicate quotes within quotes or special uses of words.

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1. Introduction

We have been playing out the worst financial crisis in our modern history, and doing so under the glare of international media. A very unique, if you like, experience.

(G. Papandreou, NewsExchange 2010 Conference speech, 11 November 2010)

In November 2010, a little more than a year after the true scale of the Greek fiscal deficit became widely known to the public, Greek Prime Minister George Papandreou had a rather rare chance to address the global media community en masse. As the then-leader of the Hellenic Republic, the PM was invited to give the opening speech at the annual NewsExchange Conference, held at that time in the crisis-torn country's capital, Athens. In front of an audience consisting of journalism professionals from all over the world, Papandreou took full advantage of the moment and openly discussed the role international media had in the Greek debt crisis (GDC). His talk was structured around one central concern: The PM pointed out that, from the very beginning of the GDC, 'the Greek case' had been subjected to an extraordinary level of media scrutiny. This fact, as he noted, had both positive and negative consequences for the situation in the country during the early months of the crisis. Foreign news sources had played a positive role in sharing information about the position of Greece (e.g. they explained the key economic terms, etc.); at the same time, however, their reporting on the GDC had also often involved a great deal of speculation and fear-mongering, which had a direct negative impact not just on the public opinion in the rest of the EU, but also, importantly, on the mood at the global financial markets.

Indeed, the glare directed at Greece by foreign media in the months following the announcement on the state of its public finance was unprecedented. However, even more extraordinary had been the persistence of this scale of attention over the subsequent stages of the country's economic struggle. For almost five years in a row, Greece had remained at the very "epicentre of international media coverage" (Tzogopoulos 2013: 1). It was only relatively recently, in 2015, that this situation changed as the media focus gradually turned to a different (yet related) issue of the EU immigration waves.

Reporting of this length and intensity has given rise to an outstanding amount of news output on the particular matter. The GDC media coverage has, as a social construct that has brought about the truly large-scale interaction and involvement of the international community, started to draw attention and research interest. The existing studies can be grouped into two main categories:

- ❖ The first category involves research on issues such as the amount of news on the crisis (in particular media/countries, evolution of the coverage over time), prominent sources (actors) cited, dominant themes employed, etc. Such analyses fall mostly under the domain of **media studies** (e.g. Tzogopoulos 2013)
- ❖ With the second category, the focus is on the language used in media discussions of the GDC. More precisely, the research examines “[...] the ways language [has been] used in the construc[tion], represen[tation] and transmi[ssion] [of the topic of the GDC in media ‘texts’]” (Baker 2006: 1, cited in Marchi 2013). In other words, the focus is on **discourse** surrounding this topic.

‘The GDC discourse’ has been studied in a number of different research areas (with individual differences in theoretical frameworks, methodological approaches, as well as primary agendas). The disciplines that have been concerned with this particular topic include: **media studies** - e.g. Mylonas (2012), Touri and Rogers (2013), **economic sociology** - e.g. Juko (2010), or **political studies** - e.g. Pavlakis (2013). In this thesis, the focus is on the discourse surrounding the GDC, specifically in the online version of the British daily the *Guardian* (*theguardian.com*). The discourse analysis, in this case, employs research framework commonly associated with discourse studies grounded in linguistics.

The thesis builds on a bilateral delineation of the EU public discourse on the economic crisis (European economic crisis/Eurozone crisis - EEC/EC¹), distinguishing between two perspectives: i) “the Northern diagnosis” (DeGrauwe 2011: 5) of the problem prevailing in Germany and other creditor states and ii) ‘the Southern opinion’ on the situation held mainly by the debtor countries. As the primary characteristics suggest, these two opposing “narratives of the crisis” (Pavlakis 2013: 9) (further described in Section 2.2.) have been constructed

¹ The acronym EEC is commonly used to denote the European Economic Community; here used as an abbreviation for the European economic crisis; see the list of abbreviations.

primarily by media in the most directly concerned countries, i.e. by media in Germany, the Netherlands etc., vs. those in Greece, Spain etc. The bilateral ‘EEC discourse framework’ that has thus arisen has, however, had implications for the interpretation of the crisis in the rest of the EU as well, i.e. it has also had an impact on the ‘ECC/GDC discourse’ in the countries not directly affected by and not actively involved in the solution of the crisis. The aim of the present study is to examine the *Guardian*’s position on the GDC in relation to this bilateral discourse framework.

The thesis is situated - both theoretically and methodologically - within Corpus-assisted discourse studies (CADS, see Section 3.4.2.). CADS currently represents one of the most rapidly growing research areas of corpus linguistics (CL), but there has been, so far, relatively little research done on the topic of the GDC. Most of the existing linguistically-grounded analyses of the GDC discourse have drawn on the Critical Discourse Analysis approach (CDA, see Section 3.3.). The CADS-grounded analyses do not have, unlike the CDA ones, a strong socio-political agenda. CADS differs from CDA mainly in that it incorporates not only qualitative but also quantitative methods of analysis through its use of computerised corpora. The existing CADS research on GDC includes for example: Mitsikopoulou and Lykou’s (2015) study of the discursive construction of the ECC in two British political magazines: *The Spectator* and *New Statesman*, or Laukkarinen’s (2013) analysis of the linguistic differences in the media reporting on the GDC performed on a corpus collected from twelve Anglophone news sources of different types.

The present CADS analysis deals with the GDC coverage in the online version of the British daily the *Guardian* (*theguardian.com*), which is the leading news server in Britain, and covers the period from October 2009 to August 2014 (see Section 4.1.). The *Guardian* was selected because it operates online and is thus easily accessible. The primary research question guiding the analysis is: **How does the *Guardian* construct the GDC in its online reporting?** This concern entails a close determination of the position of the *Guardian* in relation to its discourse on the GDC in the bilateral EEC discourse framework. Britain, the country of the *Guardian*’s origin, one of the world’s leading economic and political powers, cannot be classified among the states involved most actively in the EC bailout programme. Still, it stands closer to the ‘creditor group’ (other leading EU economies - Germany, the Netherlands, France, etc.) - a fact that may speak for an inclination to “the Northern diagnosis”. At the same time, Eurosceptic inclinations in Britain may speak for a support of ‘the Southern opinion’. The specific research question then is: **Does the *Guardian*’s reporting on the GDC present and/or**

support “the Northern diagnosis” of the GDC, or does it take side with ‘the Southern opinion’ on the situation?

As a British centre-left medium, the *Guardian* is usually labelled as a newspaper that is “supportive [of the European views]” (Garnett and Lynch 2007: 304). The prejudiced and stereotypical attitude towards the EU mentioned in the definition of ‘the Southern narrative’ is, therefore, not likely to be present in its reporting on the GDC (the *Guardian* had been supportive of the IN/STAY vote in the EU referendum). This may speak for the newspaper’s inclination to “Northern diagnosis” of the GDC. However, there is also another critical aspect of the general focus in the *Guardian*. This can be identified in the statement of the newspaper’s Assistant Editor Michael White. In an article from 2011, White says:

I have always sensed liberal, middle class ill-ease in going after stories about immigration, legal or otherwise, about welfare fraud or the less attractive tribal habits of the working class, which is more easily ignored altogether. Toffs, including royal ones, Christians, especially popes, governments of Israel, and US Republicans are more straightforward targets.

(White, 9 March 2011: the *Guardian*)²

This statement by the leading executive shows that the *Guardian* is, in general, concerned with social issues. Therefore, it can be assumed that in the case of the GDC, it shares the critical views (on the causes of/remedies for the crisis) with the second of the two presented ‘narratives’ - i.e. with ‘the Southern opinion’ on the GDC.

On the basis of previous acquaintance with some of the texts in the course of data collection and the study of the research context, the initial hypothesis was formulated: the *Guardian* cannot be straightforwardly subsumed under either of the two narratives of the GDC, however, the newspaper seems to be closer to ‘the Southern narrative’ of the crisis. In the examination of this hypothesis, the analysis will follow a set of further, more specific research questions (see Section 4.2.3).

Section 2 provides the research context for the analysis. Section 2.1, presenting an overview of the GDC, is divided into three subsections: first it presents the background, i.e. the roots and development of the crisis (Section 2.1.1); a more detailed delineation of the analysed period (Oct. 2009 - Aug. 2014) follows (Section 2.1.2); and Section 2.1.3 presents a brief note on the

² Michael White, “Media self-censorship: not just a problem for Turkey,” March, 9, 2011, accessed May, 1, 2016, <http://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/2011/mar/09/media-self-censorship-problem-turkey>.

GDC development following the analysed time span up until the end of 2015. In Section 2.2., the division of the bilateral media discourse on the EEC/GDC is further explained, and Section 2.3. discusses the essential characteristics of the analysed newspaper. Section 3 presents the main theoretical concepts relevant for the present thesis: discourse and discourse analysis, including the discussion of the concept of media discourse and approaches to its analysis. Specific attention is given to introducing the main theoretical and methodological framework: Corpus-assisted discourse studies (CADS). Section 4 focuses on the analysed data, their collection and their subsequent treatment. It further presents in detail the methodology of the analysis. Section 5 presents the results of the analysis. Section 6 provides a summary of the findings and discusses both achievements and limitations of the study.

2. Research Context

2.1. The Greek debt crisis: an overview³

2.1.1. The roots of the GDC

The roots of the GDC reach as far back as the late 1970s, when Greece's new democratic government, led by Andreas Papandreou, the father of the later 'crisis prime minister' George Papandreou, started rebuilding the Greek economy devastated by years of right-wing military junta dictatorship. Papandreou's plan was "[to] pump [...] in the money, [to] increase incomes and [to] create [...] employment" (Beugel 2011: *NRC Handelsblad*). In order to fulfil these plans, the Greek government repeatedly acquired a series of loans from international banks. This process escalated in 1981, when the country began to take advantage of the lower interest rates incurred by its entrance to the EU. Apart from the extensive borrowing, there were also other domestic factors that had contributed to the deterioration of the Greek economy, e. g. the tax evasion that had flourished among the rich and professional classes in Greece for many years, overregulation and bureaucracy. The economic situation in the country became definitely unsustainable with the onset of the EEC/EC.

The threat of insolvency became palpable for Greece when it had been facing the

³ The following summaries represent, for the most part, the author's own interpretation based on the study of the topic in the analyzed material and various other media. Only the sources selected for direct quoting are cited.

collapse of the tourism and shipping industries as the last pillars of the country's economy. Eventually, in late October 2009, George Papaconstantinou, the finance minister in the newly-elected socialist government, had to announce that the national deficit would reach 12.5 percent of GDP. After this "confession and Mea Culpa on the Greek deficit [...] the full extent of the country's problem started to emerge" (Beugel 2011: *NRC Handelsblad*), and the criticism of Greece as a profligate state spread immediately. The exposure of the fact that the Greek government had manipulated the numbers concerning the real scale of its deficit in order to meet the terms for entrance to the Eurozone then further contributed to the damage of Greece's reputation.

Indeed, from this it might seem clear that the guilt for the GDC rests solely with Greece itself. However, the story of the Greek economic troubles has also another side and is a part of a much broader and complex context. Firstly, according to various financial experts, "the hiding of the actual deficit from the EU [...] was a common practice among many European parliaments [for many years]" (Story, Thomas, Shwartz and Nelson, 13th February 2010: *The New York Times*). Secondly, as Skartsis observes:

[t]here has been a potentially misleading emphasis regarding the size of 'hidden' debt [in Greece]. [...] [T]he cumulative correction, including controversial 2010 upwards revisions, indicated that about 10% of the 2009 Greek public debt was 'hidden'.

(Skartsis 2014: 5)

Thirdly, it would be very naive to think that Brussels did not know about the state of the Greek economy before October 2009. Quite on the contrary, the strong European economies, such as Germany, actually "benefited enormously, both through collecting interest on loans and through the growth of their exports" (Beugel 2011: *NRC Handelsblad*). The latter aspect then, in particular, reveals hypocrisy on the side of the leading EU states. Among a range of other issues, Greece had been criticised by the EU representatives for its extensive military spending during the post-revolutionary decades. However, as Beugel mentions, it was "Germany [who] forced Greece to buy expensive German submarines, which it doesn't need, at a price twice as high as Turkey had to pay for them [,] [and] France [who] forced [it] to buy wildly expensive fighter planes in return for its 'aid'" (Beugel 2011: *NRC Handelsblad*).

Thus, it is clear that the Greek debt crisis cannot be judged on the basis of a one-sided perspective only. The problem arose through the interaction of the failings of successive Greek governments in dealing with the complex system of operation of the Eurozone, which is the monetary union of a single currency, yet, at the same time, it is comprised of members with

different histories of economic development and different fiscal plans.

Just as with the genesis of the crisis, there were a number of factors that had an impact on the latter course of the situation in Greece and on the duration of the GDC. On the Greek side, the inability to keep the promise of tackling crucial domestic problems, such as corruption, is most often mentioned as the main contribution to the prolonged crisis. With the EU, represented by the Troika (the body responsible for seeking a solution to the Eurozone economic struggle⁴), the criticism concerns the overall dealing with the EEC/GDC. The provision of loans in return for austerity measures, i.e. application of pro-cyclical economic/fiscal policies⁵ such as reduction of spending and increase in taxes during recession, has represented a solution that favoured the interests of the creditors (mainly the banks) over those of the masses of the average populace⁶. Apart from its negative impact on the situation of the average Greeks, the Troika's handling of the crisis has been criticized for not solving, but prolonging and further deepening of the GDC⁷.

2.1.2. The GDC - the analysed period (October 2009 - August 2014)

The actual beginning of the GDC dates back to the autumn of 2009. Soon after the disclosure of the real state of affairs of the Greek fiscal deficit in October of that year, George Papandreou proceeded to pass a number of austerity measures which were expected to increase the creditworthiness of Greece on global financial markets. The results were, however, unsatisfying. Not only did these steps spark the first wave of protests, limited (at that time) mainly to students, anarchists and leftists, they also failed to produce the desired economic effects. Quite to the contrary, the trust of the financial markets gradually decreased. Some socio-economic studies (as well as some political representatives - viz. Papandreou and his NewsExchange speech) blame international media for this development. Juko (2010), for

⁴ European Commission (EC), European Central Bank (ECB), International Monetary Fund (IMF).

⁵ Procyclical fiscal policy "can be ... summarized as governments choosing to increase public spending and reduce taxes during an economic boom, but reduce spending and increase taxes during a recession," procyclical and countercyclical, *Wikipedia*, accessed May, 9, 2016, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Procyclical_and_countercyclical.

⁶ Some speak in this context about promotion of neoliberal capitalism, where the important aspects involve: the loss of state sovereignty, dependence on the rule of the financial markers, large privatizations, impoverishment of large masses.

⁷ "[The measures] [have] lead to a deflationary spiral that has been pushing the Eurozone into a double-dip recession" (De Grauwe, 2011: 5).

example, claims that the then negative rating of Greece by the global agencies stemmed only partly from the previous non-objective reporting by the Greek national rating agency. It had been “the media [which] contributed, [at that time], to the downward spiral in the level of confidence by investors through its intensified and overly value-laden coverage of the Greek case” (Juko 2010: 28)⁸.

The climax of the first stage of the GDC then came with the Greek government announcing the necessity of requesting a financial emergency package, a process which entailed the acceptance of rather severe austerity measures. The Troika’s eventual agreement to the bailout subsequently opened the second phase of the Greek debt crisis, characterized by the first wide-scale violent protests in Athens (organized by trade unions mainly). Instead of a gradual reversal of the situation to a more positive one, the Greeks began to fully experience the effects of the austerity measures in the form of wage cuts, tax increases, price rises and pension drops. At the beginning of 2011, other effects of the austerity measures were coming to light, the national statistics noted a rapid increase in the number of applications for working visas in the USA, Canada and other countries. However, one particular thing had changed. The previously violent protests in Athens had crystallized into a peaceful movement. A group of citizens, who called themselves “the outraged” (after the Spanish revolutionaries *indignados*), started to organize sit-ins in front of the Greek parliament. The rather calm period, was, however, short-lived. Another package of austerity measures was passed in the Greek parliament as preparation for the acceptance of the second bailout in July 2011. This step aroused full-scale rage throughout Greek society, including average Greeks, who had been, according to public surveys, up to this point willing to accept the measures entailed by the initial financial assistance. The ensuing unrest took the form of a 48-hour workers’ strike across the spectrum of Greek institutions.

Then, in October 2011, Papandreou surprised EU representatives with the announcement of a national referendum concerning the austerity measures and the future resolution of the crisis. The possibility of Greece leaving the Eurozone started to resonate in Brussels. However, after the centre-right opposition agreed to back the EU-IMF deal, Papandreou started to back out of this plan. Three days later, the referendum was called off and the PM resigned and elections were to follow. Still, the possibility of the Greek euro exit (the so-called grexit) kept worrying the European representatives as the preferences of the radical political parties rose recognizably in the May 2012 elections. Since the overall results of this

⁸ Juko studied the coverage of the US, UK and German media.

vote did not allow the formation of a new government, another round of elections was held in July. This was won by the New Democracy party, led by Antonis Samaras. Amid the desperate atmosphere of a rising suicide rate, increasing homelessness, and the decreasing availability of health care, Samaras' government proceeded to invoke additional austerity measures. Citizens continued massive protests and strikes. In the atmosphere of general disapproval, Samaras welcomed, in summer 2013, the German minister Schäuble in Athens and, subsequently, as a sign of a desperate submission to the EU, he persuaded the Greek representatives to pass additional austerity measures in the Greek Parliament.

The long-expected slight indication of improvement came in May 2014, when Greece returned to the global financial markets. The victory of the Coalition of the Radical Left (Syriza) in the European Parliament Elections then marked, according to many commentators, a possible new beginning for the exhausted country. Soon, however, it became apparent that the GDC was far from over.

2.1.3. Additional overview: August 2014 - May 2016

In October 2014, PM Samaras announced that the country would be able to leave the rescue programme in 2015, that is, a year before its scheduled expiration in March 2016. However, the slow economic improvement was hardly felt among average Greek citizens and the strikes and protests continued. On 6th November, these protests escalated to a two-day general strike that brought the country to a complete halt. The tense atmosphere then prevailed in the country until the end of 2014.

The all-pervading lethargy among the Greek public was stirred up dramatically shortly after the beginning of 2015, when the general elections took place and Samaras' New Democracy was unequivocally defeated by the left-wing, anti-austerity Syriza party. Speaking to the crowds in Athens, Alexis Tsipras, the leader of the party and the new PM, promised to keep all his pre-election promises aimed at the Greek masses, who had been living for years under the draconian austerity measures. His plans, including the renegotiation of bailout terms, debt cancellation, and renewed public spending, were, indeed, imbued with great expectations on the side of the Greek population. Soon, however, they turned out to be a great disappointment. During spring 2015, the Troika and the EU leaders clearly showed that they were not willing to make any concessions to Greece. The Greek leaders then, in turn, repeatedly

refused to accept another batch of austerity measures. Thus, as a result, in June 2015, the Hellenic Republic became the first EU country to default on IMF repayment since Zimbabwe in 2001. A few days later (on July 5th), Tsipras turned the attention of the whole world to Athens by announcing a referendum on whether or not to accept further austerity measures. In the vote, which was broadly perceived as an indicator of the Greek opinion on the greexit, 61% of voters followed the PM's advice and said NO to the new austerity. Such results were initially seen as strengthening Tsipras' position in the negotiations with the Troika. However, the creditors remained adamant, which led Tsipras to take a desperate step, he had to "[bend] to European creditors and [pressed] parliament to approve new austerity measures [...] opening way to a possible third bailout worth up to 86 billion Euros."⁹ Tsipras then announced autumn snap elections. In spite of its controversial first term, his party again defeated its challengers from New Democracy by taking 35.5 % of the votes. The second victory in a row further bolstered Tsipras' position in the negotiations with creditors. However, in spite of these achievements, the status of Greece remained insecure. The country's leaders had to pass a number of important, and quite severe, bills before the end of 2015 in order to make the negotiations even possible.

In spring 2016 the GDC entered yet another tense period. At first, the economic problems of Greece had been intensified by the arrival of several waves of refugees. Moreover, then, in March/April, the bailout programme itself came to a complete halt. Among the EU representatives, the possibility of the debt relief was refused. At the same time, the Greek government had insisted that the additional austerity were not only unacceptable, but also politically and economically impossible. As the talks on the future conditions of the GDC solution continued, the third bailout, agreed in July 2015, had been frozen. As a result, Greece came again, after less than a year, close to a debt default and, possibly, even to an exit from the Eurozone. Since the EU officials had repeatedly made clear that the Greek withdrawal from the Union was undesirable, experts had, at the beginning of May 2016 predicted that a compromise would eventually be drawn. As the *Economist* observed:

[t]he most likely solution [had been], as always, a fudge: an agreement that gives creditors just enough confidence to release the next slug of cash, without putting Greece's finances on a sustainable footing or resolving the most heated disputes.

⁹ Council of Foreign Relations - Greek Debt Crisis Timeline, accessed May, 4, 2016, <http://www.cfr.org/greece/timeline-greeces-debt-crisis/p36451>.

Indeed, “[w]ith a referendum on Britain’s EU membership in June and a possible flare-up of the refugee crisis in [the summer period]” (ibid.), the need for a conclusion on the future of the Greek bailout was both acute and quite probable at that time.

Whatever then the eventual results on the debate, the early months of 2016 showed that, more than six years after the uncovering of the state of the Greek budget deficit, the story of the debt crisis was far from over for Greece. According to economists, the upcoming years in Greece will be, most probably, devoted to the repayment of the loan interest, rather than a full coverage of the debt. Thus, the long hoped-for rebuilding of the Greek economy as such remains in the category of unfulfilled dreams cherished by the Greek nation.

2.2. The EEC discourse framework: The two narratives of the crisis

The EEC has, over the years following its outbreak in 2008, developed into a truly complex situation - politically, economically as well as socially. Discussions of the crisis have divided, in terms of both its causes and remedies, “into two camps, with dramatically different interpretations of the events articulated by the debtors and the creditors” (Pavlakis 2013: 8). The so-called “**Northern diagnosis**” of the crisis, prevailing in “Germany and its satellites” (De Grauwe 2011: 5), i.e. in the main creditor states, is based on two ideas:

First, governments’ profligacy that led to excessive deficits and debts is to be blamed for the crisis. Second, punishment should be meted out to these governments so as to signal to them that they should not try ‘to sin again’.

(De Grauwe 2011: 5)

As these characteristics suggest, it is “[the] morality tale of the crisis” (Pavlakis 2013: 8), which is central to this particular view. The “Northern diagnosis” narrative claims “that the profligacy and extravagance of Southern governments living beyond their means precipitated the sovereign debt crisis” (ibid.). Such conception of the events creates:

[a] dichotomy between saints and sinners in the economic system, often relies on stereotypes, and implies that the indebted states must be punished in some way [...]; that punishment in

¹⁰ No author stated, “Bailing out Greece: Where are those buckets?,” May, 7, 2016, accessed May, 5, 2016, <http://www.economist.com/news/21698206-brinkmanship-over-emergency-loans-resumes-again-threat-grexit-never-really-went-away>.

According to some economic (political) commentators, the negative view and presentation of the EU peripheral economies (mostly the economies in the South) had played important role in the early stages of the EEC. When the global financial crisis hit the Eurozone in 2008, the major EU economies, such as UK and Germany, experienced a strong decline. The then heightened negative focus on the periphery (states with small, weak economies known by the acronym PIGS: Portugal, Italy/Ireland, Greece, Spain) helped, according to the commentators, the leader states considerably. As the borrowing rates in PIGS started to increase as a result of the negative campaign, the rates in “the ... ‘core’ countries, followed the opposite trend: they fell drastically, as these countries were perceived as ‘safe havens’ in a crisis environment” (Skartsis 2014: 3). Skartsis claims that the increased media attention paid to PIGS at this stage had been “politically as well as financially motivated” (Skartsis 2014: 3).

In autumn 2009, after the announcement of the true scale the Greek fiscal deficit, the focus of this negative attention turned primarily to Greece. The most intense had been the first two years of the GDC: the time when the first two bailouts had been negotiated and agreed on. During 2011-2012 the situation in Greece had been subjected to a fierce criticism by media in the creditor states, especially in Germany (the so-called ‘Greek bashing’). The scandalization of the Greek troubles had, as Papandreou noted in his NewsExchange speech, far reaching negative impact. Through the reaction of the financial markets it had contributed to the very triggering and the early escalation of the GDC as such (see Section 2.1.1.) and also, it has had a strong negative influence on the perception of the Greeks as a nation in the rest of the EU.

The GDC has, through “the Northern diagnosis” narrative, become constructed as a case that is symptomatic of the EEC as whole. The situation in the country has been presented by international media both as symbolic of “a general failure of fiscal policy applying to all EU member states, [as well as] revealing [of] systemic failure in the regulatory design of the EMU [(European Monetary Union)]” (Kutter 2014: 461). Some media analysts and commentators claim that this reference to the Greek case has, together with the emphasis on the threat of the metastasis of the GDC to the rest of the Eurozone, allowed the EU “to mobilise [a] ... wide clampdown on expansionary fiscal policy and to deep[en] [its control of the Eurozone economy]” (Kutter 2014: 461). In other words, the Greek crisis served as [a catalyst in the institutionalization of a new model of EU economic governance.

“The Northern diagnosis” of the EEC has been opposed by another perspective - namely, **‘the Southern opinion’**. This view, held mainly by the indebted states, is based on a

quite different understanding of the existing economic/financial situation in the Eurozone. As Pavlakis notes, ‘the Southern narrative’ of the crisis:

[...] often point[s] to the systemic issues in the structure of the Eurozone that allowed the series of events to unfold. Additionally, [it] also critique[s] austerity measures for punishing workers for their governments’ attempts to support the financial sector, whose speculation on the crisis worsened the situation. (Pavlakis 2013: 8)

Similarly as “the Northern diagnosis”, this “framing of the crisis is not always free of stereotypes [-] specifically stereotypes about Germans and other Northern governments” (Pavlakis 2013: 9).

Over the years following the start of the EEC, the divide existing between the two narratives has been widely discussed. It has been the question of European identity that has been raised most frequently in relation to this issue. The bilateral ‘EEC discourse framework’ has been reflected upon by Pavlakis in her study of the state and level of European integration, based on the analysis of German and British newspapers (with particular focus on reports on the GDC, and including both tabloid and broadsheet newspapers, namely: *The Sun*, *Bild*, *The Financial Times* and *Die Zeit*). For her qualitative analysis of the selected news sources, Pavlakis established five core indicators of “anti-Greek bias” (Pavlakis, 2013: 5), i.e. five indicators of “the Northern diagnosis” (De Grauwe 2011: 5) of the crisis. These five evaluative factors were:

- 1) “[P]resence or absence of stereotypes about Greeks (e.g.: laziness, propensity to lie and cheat, untrustworthiness, fun-loving nature, etc.).”
- 2) “[Presence of the opinion that austerity measures] are deserved as part of punishment structure for perceived Greek misdeeds in the past.”
- 3) “[P]resence of an ‘us versus them’ mentality (as opposed to solidarity orientation) [-] a direct mobilization of the national public against Greek[s] through various mechanisms - including negatively contrasting economic performances, stating that the crisis is a Greek problem that Greeks must solve, [etc.].”
- 4) “[P]resence of a moral narrative of the financial crisis [: i.e.,] that the Greeks brought this upon themselves by spending too much, being dependent on the public sector, and other allegations of fraud, corruption, and waste.
- 5) “[P]resence of a palpable sense of fear or the inclusion of fear-mongering language, a factor that

capture[s] reluctance to pay bailouts, the dread of impending deeper crisis, as well as sensationalist language in describing the protest movements.” (Pavlakis 2013: 28)

Having drawn on these indicators, Pavlakis has established that each of the news sources she analysed displayed some aspects of anti-Greek bias in their reporting on the GDC. Pavlakis has also delineated “some critical cleavages” (Pavlakis 2013: 63) among these media in terms of the individual listed factors (see Section 5). Most importantly, the study has shown that the results of the qualitative discourse analysis corresponded to the statistics presented in two prominent public opinion surveys¹¹ in that they confirmed the rather negative view of Greeks and the EU integration in both Germany and Britain.

The indicators established by Pavlakis in her work serve as the basis for the present study which, through a corpus-assisted discourse analysis, examines the existence of the above-described split “narratives of the crisis” (Pavlakis 2013: 9) in the online reporting of the *Guardian*. The already-mentioned set of further specified research questions draws on these aspects/indicators (see Section 4.2.3).

2.3. The analysed newspaper: a characterisation

The *Guardian* has a rather unique status among the leading British broadsheet dailies. The early history of the newspaper is interesting and unusual in itself. The *Guardian* was first published as *The Manchester Guardian* during the days following the 1821 Peterloo massacre. Its purpose, at that time, was to provide the readership with an alternative to the portrayal of the events as presented by the city officials. The liberal, left-wing stance established during those days has been kept by the newspaper in its further existence. Up until today, the *Guardian* represents the only central-left newspaper among the British dailies (often called “Britain’s non-conformist conscience”¹²).

“[According to the historical overview presented at its website], [the *Guardian*] gained an international reputation under long-serving editor and owner CP Scott.¹³” After the sudden

¹¹ Pew Research Centre’s Global Attitudes Project and the Eurobarometer, research conducted in 2010 and 2012 (two-year period).

¹² “The Guardian,” *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Aug., 20, 2014, accessed Nov., 11, 2015, <http://www.britannica.com/topic/The-Guardian-British-newspaper>.

¹³ No authorship stated, “The Scott Trust: values and history,” July, 26, 2015, accessed Nov., 10, 2015, <http://www.theguardian.com/the-scott-trust/2015/jul/26/the-scott-trust>.

deaths of both this leading figure and his son Ted within a short time span, the second inheritor of the newspaper, Scott's son John, decided to establish The Scott Trust in 1936. This step was taken in order to prevent the imminent bankruptcy as well as to secure the future editorial independence of the newspaper. In 2008, The Scott Trust turned to a limited company and became part of The Guardian Media Group (GMG). In spite of these changes, the title remained, according to its leaders, true to the original arrangements and values established by CP Scott. Up to now, it is the only British broadsheet funded from a source that allows its financial independence (i.e. independence from other spheres that could conflict with its editorial sovereignty).

The *Guardian* also has a rather unique status in terms of its success with the readership. While the print version of the newspaper has been continually loss-making over the last ten years, the popularity of the *Guardian* online has grown dramatically. In September 2014, *theguardian.com* became world's second most popular English-language newspaper website with 67 million hits per month. A third of these readers come from America - a success of which other British brands competing on the American market can only dream. In spite of this imbalance between the achievements of the print and the online forms, the *Guardian* representatives insist on retaining free access to the content of its online news. This stance is, quite naturally, widely criticized, as well as mocked in the discussions of the possible bankruptcy of the print edition. In 2011, "it was speculated that the *Guardian* may become the first British national daily paper to go solely online."¹⁴ The *Guardian* board's reactions are unanimous in this respect - one of the last editors in chief, Alan Rusbridger, often mentioned in interviews that free access to *theguardian.com* is part of the newspaper's open policy, which also includes some other facets, such as the conduct of an annual social, ethical and environmental audit (the *Guardian* is the only British national daily to do so) or employment of an internal ombudsman (the so-called 'readers' editor'; also a unique feature among the British broadsheet dailies).

The *Guardian*'s liberal stance has been targeted as part of a long-standing jibe in the British public discourse. This concerns the reference to "the *Guardian*'s sandal-wearing earnestness [and] its champagne socialism" (De Lisle 2012), remarks which are directly associated with the image of the *Guardian* reader as an older (over 60) or around 30 intellectual

¹⁴"The Guardian," *Wikipedia*, Nov., 4, 2015, accessed Nov., 10, 2015, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Guardian.

wearing a cardigan or denim/leather respectively.¹⁵ This figure (also referred to as the “Guardianista”) has been stereotyped to such an extent that a new abbreviation: GROLIE (Guardian Reader of Low Intelligence in Ethnic Skirt) has emerged (according to a BBC news article, it is used by UK doctors in their medical report notes).¹⁶

In terms of pure statistics, the social demographic survey showed that the printed *Guardian* is read quite evenly among the social categories, ranging from **A to C2** whereas the online version has the strongest readership only within the range of **A to C1** categories. The Social Grading¹⁷ defines the above-mentioned categories as follows:

- AB - Higher & intermediate managerial, administrative, professional occupations,
- C1 - Supervisory, clerical & junior managerial, administrative, professional occupation
- C2 - Skilled manual occupation
- DE - Semi- skilled & unskilled manual occupations, Unemployed and lowest grade occupations.

In terms of the age structure of the *Guardian* readership, the print version is most popular among readers in the 65+ category (23.2%) with relatively even results among the remaining groups (15-24: 11.8%, 25-34: 13.8%, 35-44: 14.3%, 45-54: 19.8%, 55-64: 17.1%). With respect to the *Guardian* online, the category 35+ is leading the statistics (30%). It is followed by the younger category, 15-34, with 20%.¹⁸

As for some of the most important scoops, the *Guardian* was the first newspaper to report on the phone-hacking scandal in British media in 2011 (a case whose investigation led to the breakdown of the world-wide leading newspaper *News of the World* owned by Rupert Murdoch). Also, in the same year, *Guardian* journalists were among the first to draw attention to the *WikiLeaks* case. In general, the newspaper has been praised not only for its investigative journalism, but also for other features of its output, such as, for example “its dispassionate

¹⁵ Taken from De Lisle description of the *Guardian* readers coming to the first *Guardian* Open Weekend in March 2012.

¹⁶ No authorship stated, “Doctor slang is dying art,” *BBC news online*, Aug., 18, 2003, accessed Nov., 10, 2015, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/health/3159813.stm>.

¹⁷ UK Geographics, Feb., 23, 2014, accessed May, 5, 2016, <http://www.ukgeographics.co.uk/blog/social-grade-a-b-c1-c2-d-e>.

¹⁸ *The Guardian/the guardian.com* readership statistics, source: NRS/NRS PADD, Oct., 15, 2015 update, accessed Aug., 2, 2016.

discussion of issues, its literary and artistic coverage and criticism, and its foreign correspondence”¹⁹. All of these positive attributes were officially acclaimed in 2014, when the *Guardian* gained the title of ‘The Newspaper of the Year’ at the British Press Awards. Apart from its numerous achievements, however, the *Guardian* has also been associated with several controversies. Among these, the newspaper’s publication of a humour column by Charlie Brooker, which called for the assassination of the U.S. President G.W. Bush, can be mentioned (the *Guardian* had to apologize and remove the article from its website).²⁰

3. Theoretical background

3.1. Discourse and discourse analysis

The literature dealing in some way with the concept of ‘discourse’ typically open with statements placing emphasis on adjectives such as: complex, problematic, not easy to describe, etc. These and other such attributes refer, almost invariably, to “the seemingly bewildering array of [...] definitions” (Partington et al. 2013: 2), which the existing literature has provided for this particular term so far. As Marchi notes,

[t]he concept of discourse is not easy to describe, not only because it is defined in different ways across disciplines, but also because it is used in different ways within them.

(Marchi 2013: 23)

This is true especially for sociology and linguistics - the two main research fields associated with the study of discourse. In linguistics, the concept has been traditionally interpreted in two ways - the structural view presents discourse as “language above the sentence or above the clause” (Stubbs 1983: 1), whereas the functional approach sees it as “language in use” (Brown and Yule 1983:1) or “language that is doing some job in some context” (Halliday 1985: 10). In sociology, the understanding of the particular phenomenon has been shaped mainly by Foucault’s idea of discourse as “practices that form the object of which they speak” (Foucault 1972: 49).

¹⁹ “The Guardian” *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Aug., 20, 2014, accessed Nov., 11, 2015, <http://www.britannica.com/topic/The-Guardian-British-newspaper>.

²⁰ “The Guardian” *NewWorld Encyclopedia*, Jan., 21, 2014, accessed Nov., 11, 2015, http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/The_Guardian#cite_note-9.

As these definitions show, these seminal interpretations of the concept have drawn exclusively on the research foci of their respective domains, without making any reference to the related aspects (linguistic or social, respectively). The existent cleavage in the conception of ‘discourse’ has been taken into account by scholars following in Foucault’s footsteps, i.e. in the work that has elaborated on the view of language as a form of social practice. For example, “Hall offers a useful explanation of discourse as ‘a group of statements which provide a language for talking about - a way of representing the knowledge about - a particular topic at a particular historical moment’” (Hall 1992: 291, cited in Marchi 2013: 25). This interpretation “bridges social and linguistic aspects and conflates them into pragmatic notion of discourse” (Cameron 2001: 15, cited in Marchi 2013: 25). The particular conceptualization as such is not only comprehensive, but also more understandable as the complex term ‘representation’ is thus “easier to pin down” (Marchi 2013: 26). The term is used also, for example, by Burr, who describes discourse as “a particular picture that is painted of an event (or person, or class of persons) [...] a particular way of representing it or them in a certain light” (Burr 1995: 32, cited in Marchi 2013: 2).

Another related term, ‘construction’, is employed by Fairclough, who claims that discourse does not just “reflect or represent social entities and relations, [but] construct[s] or ‘constitute[s]’ them” (Fairclough 1992: 3). It is this particular interpretation of ‘discourse’ that is adopted in the present thesis, Fairclough’s terms ‘construction/construal’ are used in reference to this concept.

A discourse, as its sociolinguistic conception implies, does not represent a fixed set of elements (e.g. statements, metaphors, etc.) associated with one particular subject or event. Quite the contrary, any object, person, or occurrence can be surrounded by a number of different representations or construals, depending on different views by different people. The plural form of the term, ‘discourses’, is often used to indicate an existence of multiple perspectives on a particular topic. This use has to be, however, distinguished from another interpretation of the concept, where the plural form ‘discourses’ is used for referring to “different types of language used in different sorts of social situations” (Fairclough 1992: 3) (e.g. political discourse, media discourse, etc.; see the latter part of Section 3.1). The discourses surrounding any particular object are not, in any case, clearly circumscribed. As Baker notes, “[the patterns] are constantly changing, interacting with each other, breaking off and merging” (Baker 2006: 4). As a result, then, discourses “can be difficult to pin down or describe” (Baker 2006: 4).

This has direct implications for the process of discourse analysis, i.e. for the study of

discourse in general, which subsumes different approaches. The analyst, who is never able to have “a real discourse in [his/] her hands”, can work only with what Partington calls a “once-was discourse” (Partington et al. 2013: 2), i.e., with “the written or spoken ‘product’ of the process of text production” (Fairclough 1992: 3). A study of concrete texts allows for a delineation of the second inherent component of discourse: processes involved in the formation of the phenomenon(/a), including both production and reception. The procedure of discourse analysis as a whole, therefore, always proceeds in a particular order: identifying “a series of linguistic repertoires that construct a topic, an identity, an argument” and interpreting them “in terms of discourses” (Marchi 2013: 26).

The two-dimensional approach to discourse, discourse as both a process and a product, allows for yet another interpretation of the concept - one that elaborates on the notion of language used in particular social settings or with particular social events, activities, or topics, i.e. language that is “structuring [particular] areas of knowledge and social practice” (Fairclough 1992: 4)). As noted earlier, in this respect, we talk about various ‘discourses’, e.g. “[...] political discourse (Chilton 2004), colonial discourse (Williams and Chrisman 1993), media discourse (Fairclough 1995), environmental discourse (Hajer 1997)” (Baker 2006: 3).

In the present thesis, the focus is on the language used in media reporting of the GDC. In a broader sense, then, the work deals with the type of language that reflects and, at the same time, constructs the interaction(s) and relationship between media and society. In other words, it deals with media/news discourse.

3.2. Media discourse and the approaches to its study

The media discourse has been a subject of study in a range of academic areas with individual differences in terms of particular disciplines, research foci, theoretical frameworks, as well as methodological approaches. The language-oriented research has followed in two main directions. On the one side, news texts have “been considered from the vantage point ... [of] discourse structure or linguistic function” (Cotter 2001: 417), e.g. the concept of voicing in the work of Bakhtin (1953, 1986), the concept of framing discussed in Goffman (1981), narrative structure and style (Bell 1991, 1994, 1998), or work by Tannen (1998) on media as agonists and instigators of polarized public debate. On the other side, ‘the products’ of media reporting have been viewed “according to [their] impact as ideology-bearing discourse[(s)]” (Cotter

2001: 417).

The latter critically oriented approach²¹ has played a particularly important role in this field of analysis. As Cotter notes:

the interdisciplinary framework of critical discourse analysis (CDA) - including Fairclough's deployment of social theory and intertextuality in the illumination of discourse practice (1992, 1995a, 1995b), Fowler's critical scan of social practice and language in the news (1991), and van Dijk's work on the relation of societal structures and discourse structures, particularly as this relation implicates racism (1991) - has been seminal, and indeed, with Bell [’s research on the processes involved in the production of media language and the role of the audience (1991),] has created the foundations of the field of media discourse studies [as such]. (Cotter 2001: 417)

CDA, as the far most prominent and influential approach used in the study of media discourse, will be discussed in the following Section 3.3. Then, in Section 3.4., the focus turns to the approach taken in the present study. Section 3.4.1 explains the main theoretical and methodological framework: corpus linguistics (CL), and Section 3.4.2 presents the specific approach adopted for the analysis, the **corpus-assisted discourse analysis/studies (CADS)**. Section 3.5. provides the theoretical background for the metaphor-oriented part of the *Guardian* GDC discourse analysis.

3.3. Critical discourse analysis

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) was founded in 1980 by the British sociolinguist Norman Fairclough as a discourse study approach merging linguistic and social perspectives. As noted earlier, its main concern has been in social issues of power and ideology. More specifically, as Todolí et al. observe:

CDA claims that discourse always involves power and ideologies, and aims to explore often opaque relationships between discursive practices, texts and events. [The approach] is concerned to uncover the ideological assumptions hidden in the structures of language to help people resist and overcome various forms of power abuse. (Todolí et al. 2006: 10)

CDA analysts take “an explicit socio-political stance” (Todolí et al. 2006: 10). Fairclough

²¹ “critical in the sense of revealing societal power operations and invoking a call to social responsibility” (Cotter 2001: 418).

explicitly states:

CDA sees itself not as a dispassionate and objective social science, but as engaged and committed; it is a form of intervention in social practice and social relationships”

(Fairclough & Wodak 1997: 258, cited in Todolí et al. 2006: 10).

In terms of theory and methodology, CDA does not have a “unitary framework,” “[i]t is best viewed as a shared perspective encompassing a range of approaches” (Todolí et al. 2006: 9). Still, in methodology, one shared principle can be found. It can be said that, in general, CDA adheres to a strictly qualitative methods of study. The CDA analyst typically closely examines individual stretches of texts with the aim not only to describe, but also to critically interpret the linguistic units and discourse structures he/she encounters. The focus in this process is on both a close analysis of immediate context (co-text), and reference to a larger, extralinguistic context²².

The principal tenet of CDA, the aim “to reveal the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context” (Van Dijk 2001: 353) has found one of the most fertile grounds in the field of media discourse studies because mass media represent one of the main carriers of power and ideology in public discourse. Apart from this, there have been other areas in which the approach gained a broad acclaim (e.g. gender studies, anthropology, pedagogy).

Even though the impact of Fairclough’s (and his followers’) concept has been exceptional, it remains true that the CDA approach is, due to its overtly ideological focus, not fitting with all types of discourse analyses. The qualitative method favoured in CDA has also not been generally accepted. Among its strongest critics have been corpus linguists, who perceive the complete lack of quantitative tools as a major deficiency of this particular discourse study approach (see Section 3.4.2).

3.4. Use of corpora in (media) discourse analysis

3.4.1 Corpus and corpus linguistics

The word *corpus* (Latin for *body*) refers, in language sciences, to “a collection of texts (a ‘body’

²² CDA strives “to explain the analysed discourse patterns in terms of properties of social interaction and, especially, social structure” (Van Dijk 2001: 353).

of language)” (Baker, Hardie and McEnery 2006: 48), “which can serve as a basis for linguistic analysis and description” (Kennedy 1998: 1). Over the last five decades “[t]he compilation and analysis of corpora stored in computerised databases has led to a ... scholarly enterprise known as corpus linguistics [(CL)]” (Kennedy 1998:1). CL, defined, according to Partington, “most simply as: that set of studies into the form and/or function of language which incorporate the use of computerised corpora in their analyses” (Partington et al. 2013: 5), is based on the following fundamental tenets²³:

1. CL is empirical. The object of its study is “real language data” (Teubert 2005: 3).
2. CL “starts from the same premises as text-linguistics in that text is assumed to be the main vehicle for the creation of meaning. In spite of this initial starting point [, however,] ... [corpus and text-linguistics] are fundamentally and qualitatively different” (Tognini-Bonelli 2001:2). Tognini-Bonelli summarises the differences between the analysis of a text and a corpus in the following table (Table 1):

<i>A text</i>	<i>A corpus</i>
read whole	read fragmented
read horizontally	read vertically
read for content	read for formal patterning
read as a unique event	read for repeated events
read as individual act of will	read as a sample of social practice
instance of <i>parole</i>	gives insights into <i>langue</i>
coherent communicative event	not a coherent communicative event

Table 1: Differences between a text and a corpus (source Tognini-Bonelli, 2001:3).

3. In CL, “[a] (single) word [is not seen as] privileged in terms of meaning” (Teubert 2005:

²³ The account presents the list of the most key tenets of CL. The assumptions held with regard to this topic can differ, which fact is reflected in the title of one of the most important writings in this field - Teubert’s “My version of corpus linguistics” (2005).

5), a premise which is based on the idea that “[t]he vocabulary of a language is internally structured by many clusters of words, which stand in different relations to each other” (Stubbs 2001: 35). The notion of semantic associations among words has its origin in the lexical approach to language description, that is in lexicogrammar - the field of study grounded in the Hallidayan framework of Systemic Functional Linguistics that has contributed notably not only to CL, but also to linguistics in general. Lexicogrammar (/lexical grammar) “focused on breaking down [the existing] strict distinction between lexical and grammatical (syntagmatic/paradigmatic) dimensions of language” (Sinclair 1991: 109-10), what Sinclair calls ‘slot and filler model’ or ‘open choice principle’, the view that sees language as being organized solely according to grammatical rules.

The ‘open-choice approach’ was “[first] challenged by Firth through the concept of ‘collocation’” (McEnery and Gabrielatos 2008: 40). Collocation concerns “syntagmatic relations between words as such, and not between categories” (Stubbs 1996:36, cited in McEnery and Gabrielatos 2008: 40). Collocation was defined by Firth as “[a]n order of mutual expectancy” (Firth 1968: 81, cited in McEnery and Gabrielatos 2008: 42). Later, Firth’s ideas were elaborated on by Sinclair, who introduced the so-called ‘idiom principle’ “to account for syntagmatic relations between words which cannot be explained in terms of grammar” (McEnery and Gabrielatos, 2008: 40). Sinclair claimed that: “[g]rammatical generalizations do not rest on rigid foundations, but are the accumulation of the patterns of hundreds of individual words and phrases” (Sinclair 1991: 100). Thus, according to the *idiom principle*:

[n]ormal discourse is largely composed of preconstituted or semi-preconstituted blocks of language [(termed *extended units of meaning* or *lexical items* by Sinclair (Sinclair 2004)]. ... [These clusters] represent [, for language users,] single choices, even though they appear to be analysable into segments.

(Sinclair 1987a: 320, cited in Partington et al. 2013: 27)

This approach to language description originally drew solely on the Firthian notion of collocation. Later, however, the concept was extended to other aspects concerning lexical relations. Firth introduced the notion of ‘colligation’ to account for “relations at the grammatical level” (McEnery and Gabrielatos 2008: 42). Sinclair then elaborated on two further types of relations among words: ‘semantic preference’ and ‘semantic prosody’ (the term ‘semantic prosody’ was first introduced by Bill Louw (Louw 1993, 2000); also known

as ‘discourse prosody’ (Stubbs 2001)). The two related categories differ in that:

[s]*emantic preference* is understood as the semantic field a word’s collocates predominantly belong to, whereas *semantic prosody* is restricted to a more general characterisation of the collocates, chiefly in terms of a positive or negative evaluation. (Sinclair 1996: 87)

All of these features and types of lexical relations constitute, together with the core, the Firthian concept of collocation²⁴, and the idiom principle of language, the approach that is central to all CL work.

4. Since clusters of words (designated in Sinclair’s idiom principle) “tend to recur in a discourse” (Teubert 2005: 5), they can be identified with the use of statistical methods facilitated by the technical possibilities existing in CL. The interactions of units and their patterning can be studied in terms of all the above-mentioned aspects, i.e. collocation, colligation, semantic preferences and prosodies. The primary statistical parameter used for this purpose in CL is then the frequency of occurrence.
5. With regard to the centrality of frequency-based analytical methods, such as frequency calculator, word-lists, collocation calculation, keywords and clusters, CL is often described as a primarily quantitative approach. However, as Partington notes:

Rather than the term quantitative, it might be better to say that most of the linguistic analysis performed using computerised corpora is born out of a statistical methodological philosophy, the search for - and belief in the importance of - recurring patterns. [(Hence the emphasis on frequency-based methods)]. (Partington et al. 2013: 8)

The qualitative approach is seen as equally important in CL, which fact is exemplified by the basic corpus tool - concordancer. Concordancer, as Partington explains, “[e]tracts as many examples as the analyst wishes of the word or expression under analysis ... and arranges them in a concordance, that is, a list of unconnected lines of text” (Partington et al. 2013: 17). This feature then allows for a detailed qualitative study of the recurring patterns in their surrounding co-text.

²⁴ “the keystone of lexis and semantics” (McEnery and Hardie 2012: 132).

6. The findings achieved through the exploration of a corpus depend on the type of data selected for the analysis. From this it follows that “the corpus data we select to explore a research question must be well matched to that research question” (McEnery and Hardie 2012: 2), in other words, this brings forward the central question of CL, representativeness of a corpus. In the case of the present thesis, representativeness is achieved more easily (compared to some general linguistic research issues) as the corpus consists solely of articles on the topic of the GDC - i.e., it is a corpus collected for the purpose of the particular research aim.
7. Finally, another central issue in the debate on CL concerns the status/nature of the field as such. On the one side, it has been often argued, “given the variety of topics treated and uses to which corpora have been put” (Partington et al. 2013: 6), that CL should be treated: “[n]ot as a discipline or field of study but more a methodology, that is, a set of tools and general practices and ways of using those tools for the purpose of language analysis” (Partington et al. 2013: 6). On the other side, this view has been rejected “as simplistic and limiting” by many researchers (Partington et al. 2013: 6). For example, Halliday claims that:

[c]orpus linguistics re-unites the activities of data gathering and theorising and argues that this is leading to a qualitative change in our understanding of language”

(Halliday 1993c: 24, cited in Tognini-Bonelli 2001:1)

According to Stubbs, CL is “not merely a tool of linguistic analysis but an important concept in linguistic theory” (Stubbs 1993: 23-24, cited in Partington et al. 2013: 7) and Teubert describes CL directly as “a theoretical approach to the study of language” (Teubert 2005: 2). The middle-ground view on this matter then distinguishes “between the questions of what corpus linguistics *is* [(a collection of tools and techniques for linguistic analysis)] and what it *does* [(it allows for new perspectives on described/familiar phenomenon)]” (Partington et al. 2013: 7).

The present work draws on a particular approach existing within the heterogeneous field of CL - namely, on corpus-assisted discourse studies/analysis (CADS).

3.4.2. Corpus-assisted discourse studies

The ‘CADS type of research’ has been, according to Partington, conducted since the 1980s,

when corpus linguistics experienced a major rise. Teubert's study on the language of Euroscepticism in Britain (Teubert 2000) can be mentioned as one of the pioneering works in this field. The field and its label was, however, established as late as 2004²⁵ (Partington et al. 2013:10). In this sense, CADS represents still a relatively new and developing sub-branch of corpus linguistics. One of the leading figures in CL research as applied to the analysis of media and political language is A. Partington (e.g. Partington and Morley 2004, Partington and Taylor 2010). A substantial body of work grounded in CADS framework has also been performed by researchers at Lancaster University (e.g. studies of discourse surrounding public issues, such as: hosting of the Olympic/Paralympic Games in London (McEnery, Potts and Xiao 2013), murder case of Lee Rigby (McEnery, McGlashan and Love 2015), topics of gender/sexuality (e.g. Baker 2005, 2008, 2014), race, religion and immigration (e.g. Baker 2010, Baker and Gabrielatos 2008, Baker, Gabrielatos and McEnery 2013, Gabrielatos and Baker 2006)).

CADS started to develop in reaction to the perceived polarity between the qualitative and quantitative methods of discourse analysis. As mentioned in Section 3.3., corpus linguists often “lament that discourse analysts rarely use quantitative tools to describe the extent to which their findings are generalizable” (Biber et al. 1998, cited in Marchi 2013: 32). (Critical) discourse analysts, on the other hand, criticize CADS for lack of sufficient analysis context. This critique is aptly summarized by Hardt-Mautner, who states that:

One of the problems with [CL] is that the coding and counting procedures distance the analyst from the source text. Once a linguistic phenomenon has become a tick on a coding sheet, to be processed by statistics software, the co-text, so vital for interpretation, is lost, and very often irretrievably so. (Hardt-Mautner 1995: 4)

The aim of CADS is then to provide a middle-ground between these competing views. The concept is defined, as “the practice of investigating particular text types by combining the quantitative rigour of corpus linguistics with the social perspective of qualitative approaches to discourse analysis” (Marchi 2013: 32). In other words, CADS can be seen as a ‘composite approach’ to the study of discourse. This fact is reflected in the very label of the field: corpus-ASSISTED discourse studies.

In CADS, computerised corpora are viewed principally as efficient means of gaining

²⁵ Partington is recognized as the coiner of the term CADS (Partington 2004a).

“statistical overviews of large amounts of the discourse” (Partington et al. 2013: 11). The obtained statistical data are not seen as the ultimate source of information. Quite on the contrary, in CADS, the quantitative results represent just a starting point for a more qualitative process of “detailed analysis of particular stretches of discourse” that is worth researcher’s attention and otherwise may have not been “readily available to naked-eye perusal” (Partington et al. 2013: 11).

The strong emphasis on the qualitative analysis, may in a way, distinguish CADS from some other research areas of CL, where quantitative methods may dominate. CADS also stands out in the CL framework in terms of its stance on the pre-analysis data treatment²⁶. As Partington observes:

Corpus linguistics proper [(meaning CL associated with the production of dictionaries, formulation of grammar)] has [been] frequently ... characterised by the treatment of the corpus as a “black box”, that is, the analyst is not encouraged to familiarise him/herself with particular texts within the corpus in case the special features these texts may possess should distort his or her conceptions of the corpus as a whole. (Partington et al. 2013: 12)

CADS holds, in this respect, a much more open attitude. The analysts “typically engage with their corpus in variety of ways (Partington et al. 2013: 12). These can include processes such as familiarization with the initial data in the wordlists, or even reading, listening or watching segments of the collected data. The later procedure is, in CADS, not perceived as a source of researcher bias, but rather as a way of getting “a feel for how things are done linguistically in the [analysed] discourse type” (Partington et al. 2013: 12). A biased approach is, in the CADS context, associated, in the first place, with the notion of ‘cherry-picking’, i.e. with the process of mining corpora for evidence to support a preconceived argument (e.g. Baker and Levon 2015, Baker and McEnery 2015).

3.4.3. The main CL concepts in CADS

As already noted in Section 3.4.2, CADS takes advantage of statistical processing of large amounts of texts for uncovering possibly interesting discourse structures and patterns. There

²⁶ This is, however, to an extent, true also for other areas, such as corpus stylistics, corpus based translation studies and contrastive studies.

are two main approaches, CADS often uses: keywords (KWs) and collocations.

Keywords

The metaphor of a key opening the way to something new, hidden or unclear, underlies the term ‘keyword’, which is used in a number of different ways. One of the most common uses of the term KW is in public databases, such as, for example, library resources, where “keywords are those that help to identify [/retrieve] a text”. Another frequent use of the term is related to web-browsing, where KWs serve as a tool for “text mining rather than text retrieval” (Bondi 2010: 5). The process of searching inside, rather than outside a text, then links the rather commonplace internet use of KWs to the specific field of linguistic analysis.

Even linguistics, however, uses a number of definitions of this term. For example, in the late 1970s, Williams established a concept of so-called cultural KWs. Williams chose a set of about 120 words that he considered important in Anglophone cultures (Williams 1976: introduction). Unlike his approach, grounded in cultural studies, CL deals with KWs in purely statistical terms. KWs were defined by Mike Scott (the creator of the first software for KW analysis: *WordSmith* (Scott 1996))²⁷ as words whose “frequency (or infrequency) in a text or corpus is statistically significant, when compared to the standards set by a reference corpus [(RC)]” (Scott 1997, cited in Bondi and Scott 2010: 3). “Keyness is [, in this sense,] not [a] language-dependent but [a] text-dependent [quality]” (Scott 1997, cited in Bondi & Scott 2010: 3). KWs in CL bear qualities such as importance (/prominence/saliency) and text-dependence. Scott also emphasizes ‘aboutness’ as another basic aspect of this concept (Scott 1997, cited in Bondi and Scott 2010: 3). KWs function as pointers highlighting prominent words in a text. The aboutness-potential is usually assigned to lexical KWs. The grammatical KWs, regarded as markers of style rather than content, are often excluded from discourse analyses. However, as various corpus studies stressing the phraseological nature of language suggest, grammatical KWs “form a valid and even preferable basis for empirical linguistic research into ... discourses” (Groom 2010: 59) as “meanings typically reside in sequences of words, and not in the individual word forms that comprise such sequences” (Groom 2010: 62) (see also Section 3.4.1.). Groom shows, in one of his studies, that a detailed focus on the phraseological behaviour of grammatical words in their contexts “can [help the researcher to learn] at least as much about the preferred meanings of a particular [discourse] as [it] can [help him/her to

²⁷ Following in Scott’s steps, Laurence Anthony developed in 2006 another KW software: *AntConc*.

indicate its] preferred stylistic features” (Groom 2010: 63). In other words, a detailed analysis of phraseological structures in their contexts, including extended semantic layers such as semantic preference and semantic prosody (see Section 3.4.1), leads to a more complex understanding of the existing patterns in a given discourse.

The information the KW results carry is dependent on the choice of a reference corpus (RC). The choice of the ‘RCs’ differs with various types of CL analyses. In CADS, researchers often go the way of a simple comparison (i.e. one source with another) since, as Partington notes:

Discourses in institutional settings normally consist of questions posed by one set of institutional actors and responses by another category of participant. In a corpus suitably annotated for speaker category, the linguistic behaviour of each side can be compared, for example, to study whether they use key words and notions in the same or different ways. (Partington 2013: 13)

In the case of multiple comparisons then (i.e. a corpus containing data from one source and a corpus containing data from multiple sources), CADS often works with the widely used, easily accessible, general (monolingual) corpora, such as the British National Corpus (BNC), the Bank of English, the Brown Corpus, Lancaster-Oslo-Bergen Corpus (LOB), etc. The use of these general reference sources has been recently often viewed as problematic, primarily with regard to their text structure, i.e. with certain types of research, focused on, for example, specific genres, the structure of general corpora (spoken-written texts, genres, etc.) can be seen as too broad for a relevant comparison, and also in terms of the time spans covered by these RCs, corpora such as *BNC* can be seen as outdated for analyses of certain types.

These comments are, indeed, relevant in many respects. The general RCs cannot be, however, simply discarded. As Scott emphasizes, the choice of a RC represents a rather complicated issue. Having performed tests in this area, Scott (Scott 2009: 79) states that “the parameters in terms of size, general comparability, as well as genre variability of a ‘bad reference corpus,’” cannot be specified. Scott experimented with RCs of different sizes and came to conclusion “that there is no clear and obvious threshold below which poor keyword results can be expected” (Scott 2009: 86). In his other experiment, Scott used Shakespeare’s plays as the RC for corpus of commercial texts. The results of this comparison were examined in contrast with those yielded by the *BNC* as the RC. This experiment showed that “many more keywords were picked up using ... [a] deliberately inappropriate reference corpus [i.e. Shakespeare’s plays]” (Scott 2009: 89) and it also turned out that these KWs “[were] not absurd [at all]” (Scott 2009: 89). Finally, the testing of genre-different RCs against the genre-mixed

BNC revealed that although the resulting KWs varied in each of the cases, no straightforward claims could be made in terms of the quality differences. In general, then, it can be said, on the basis of Scott's study, that:

[t]here is considerable subjectivity [in the views on what is a good and bad RC] [-] the notion of usefulness [of reference source] will vary according to research goals which cannot in general be predicted. (Scott 2006: 1)

Collocation

Apart from 'KWs', 'collocation' plays the central role both in CL (as already discussed in detail in Section 3.4.1) and CADS. The main parameter in calculating collocations is the frequency of co-occurrence, i.e. repetition, accumulation. However, it is not raw frequency that determines the salience of collocation. A collocate is an "item that appears with greater than random probability in its (textual) context" (Hoey 1991: 7), which can be calculated with various statistical measures. Collocations may carry information on evaluation. They "show the associations and connotations words have 'and therefore the assumptions which they embody'" (Stubbs 1996: 172, in Marchi 2013: 42). As such, they represent an important source of analysis for any discourse-oriented study.

3.5. Metaphorical language: Cognitive/Conceptual Metaphor Theory

Since the time of Aristotle, "theoretical reflection on the nature and function of metaphor has generally followed a single line of thought" (Stallman 1999: 9), metaphor has been viewed as "a matter of language [solely]" (Lakoff 1992: 1). It has been treated as "a device of the poetic imagination and the rhetorical flourish" (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 3), a mere "fancy trick with words" (Stöckl 2010: 190) that has no other function than to "add ... appeal [to literary expressions]" (Stallman 1999: 9). This 'decorative view' of the phenomenon, based on the assumption that "all everyday conventional language is literal and none is metaphorical" (Lakoff 1993: 4) has prevailed and remained broadly unchallenged up until quite recently, when Lakoff and Johnson introduced a new approach to metaphor, the so-called Cognitive/Conceptual Metaphor Theory (further as CMT), in their seminal work *Metaphors We Live By* (1980). CMT proposed that "the locus of metaphor" (Lakoff 1992: 1) is not in language, but in thought.

Lakoff and Johson contended that metaphor is not only a linguistic phenomenon, but also a fundamental cognitive tool through which we conceptualize various abstract, unfamiliar or incomprehensible aspects of our every-day experience. This has naturally had important implications for the general understanding of the structure, mechanism and potential of metaphor. The phenomenon, which had been long perceived as a mere ornament of language, has become gradually recognized as an important analytical component in a number of different social science disciplines. The discourse studies, in particular, have drawn extensively on the CMT view of metaphor as a cognitive tool - i.e. a means of the social construction of reality. The research in this field has clearly shown that metaphorical language represents a valuable source of information for the study of the way meanings/messages are constructed in texts.

The primary tenet of CMT holds that most of the abstract concepts in our lives are “known and understood largely or entirely through metaphors” (Lakoff 1993, cited in Deignan 2005: 14). Lakoff and Johson have “argued for the existence of links between ideas” (Deignan 2005: 14). These links, denoted as ‘conceptual metaphors’, connect two different semantic domains. “The domain which provides the conceptual structure [is usually concrete] and it is referred to as the ‘source domain’” (Mandelblit 1995: 483). The other domain, which is talked of metaphorically, “is typically less directly experienced and more highly structured” (Mandelblit 1995: 483). It is known as the ‘target domain’. The process whereby selected aspects (ideas/knowledge) from the concrete source become projected onto the abstract target is then described as ‘conceptual mapping’. In CMT, the general term metaphor is used to refer to the actual underlying intellectual structures: ‘conceptual mappings’. The surface realizations of these processes are then denoted as ‘metaphorical expressions’ or ‘linguistic expressions’. The additional, related terms used in this contexts are: the ‘vehicle’ - i.e. the literal meaning of a word (/source), and the ‘topic’ - i.e. the metaphorical meaning of a word (target).

4. Data and methodology

4.1. Data

The data for the present study comprise a self-collected corpus: *The Guardian GDC Corpus*. The data collection process itself involved the online version of the *Guardian* newspaper. With the online news server *www.theguardian.com* there is a possibility of searching for articles through particular thematic sections. In this case, Greece as an area of foreign reporting suggested itself in the first place. However, eventually, the method of keyword

archive search, in the form: Greece and a particular year (i.e. 2009/2010/etc.) was chosen. This decision stemmed from the belief that the listings in the archives provide a better orientation in the existing articles and coverage of all texts from the analysed period will be ensured.

As for the search results, two main criteria were applied. Firstly, the articles that concerned Greece only marginally (i.e. articles in which Greece was not the main topic and was only mentioned) were excluded from the analysis. Secondly, I have excluded from the collected data two further categories of articles. Articles that were classified as either problematic in terms of their type/form, or irrelevant in terms of the analysed discourse topic. This concerned namely: interviews of various types that were problematic because of their intertextuality and sports articles dealing with Greek achievements. Finally, in total, **349 articles (277 973 words)** have been collected for *The Guardian GDC Corpus*. Each individual article was, at first, edited (i.e. the hyperlinks and graphic material - photos and pictures - have been removed) and later saved as a separate text file with a name including date and year of the release. The individual files were then stored (and analysed) together (as one main file). For comparability the collected data have been (aside) divided into groups according to the time of publishing. On the basis of the overview presented in Section 2.1, I have distinguished four time stages of the analysed period of the GDC: Oct 2009- April 2010; May 2010 - December 2010; 2011, 2012, 2013; January 2014-August 2014. The number of articles that the *Guardian* published during these stages can be seen in Table 2.

	the Guardian (theguardian.com) total: 349 articles / 277 973 words
1st stage: Oct 2009 - April 2010	55
2nd stage: May 2010 - Dec 2010	29
3rd stage: 2011, 2012, 2013	224 (72, 67, 85)
4th stage: Jan 2014 - Aug 2014	41

Table 2: *The Guardian GDC Corpus*: number of articles published at different stages of the analysed period.

As can be seen, there is no big difference in terms of the number of articles published during the individual stages of the analysed period except the third stage, which includes three consecutive years; in general, 2013 was the strongest year in terms of the number of articles

published on the topic of the GDC. The *Guardian* counts (according to the statistical overviews provided in some studies on the topic (Touri and Rogers 2013, Laukkarinen 2013), among the leading British media in terms of the extent of the GDC coverage.

4.2. Methodology

The following methodology section is divided into three parts. In the first step, I introduce the tools that are employed. I also briefly outline the procedures that were used for obtaining the initial data from *The Guardian GDC Corpus*, i.e. the KW database (in *WordSmith*). Then, I discuss the choice of the reference corpus (RC). In the next section, *The Guardian KW Database* results are presented and the choice of particular KWs for the analysis is explained. Finally, I describe how the primary methodology was specified on the basis of a preliminary review of the concordance of one of the selected KWs.

4.2.1. The tools and the settings

For the *The Guardian GDC Corpus* analysis *WordSmith Tools 6* software package was selected. In the first step, all 349 files were loaded into the software and a frequency word list was created. This list was zipped into a batch which was then compared with the *BNC* frequency word list provided on Mike Scott's website, the default *WS* parameters were retained²⁸. The zipping of the wordlist allowed for the creation of a KW batch, a zipped file in which the KW results are kept for each individual text. The KW batch then served as a basis for the subsequent creation of a KW database.

KW database is one of the most complex tools in the *WordSmith* package. It is the section of the software which works with the notion of 'key keywords', yet another concept developed by Scott. 'Key keywords' are those words which recur as key in a number of files of an analysed corpus. The database provides a list of KWs ordered according to the number of texts in which they occur as key. Thus, logically, the KWs positioned at the top of the database list can be regarded as 'key keywords', i.e. words which bear a very high saliency in a given corpus.

²⁸ Default *WS* parameters: log-likelihood, $p=0,000001$, min.frequency of keyword 3, max. results displayed 500, full lemma processing.

4.2.2. Reference corpus

For the present analysis, *BNC* was selected as the RC. The choice of a reference source entails mainly two issues (see Section 3.4.3.). Firstly, it is the question of the time period it covers, which in the case of *BNC* is not entirely appropriate. The corpus was collected in the 1990s, for which reason it has been lately often considered as an outdated source for a comparison with data of a more recent origin. Secondly, there is also the issue of the RC composition. The *BNC* represents general corpus consisting of a wide variety of texts. This implies that, with certain types of research it can be considered too broad for a relevant comparison. However, the advantage of general corpora is that they are large and they aim to represent, to a degree, language as a whole.

The present analysis deals with recent material of a very specific genre and topic. It can be, therefore, said that the above-mentioned reservations are, in this case, fully valid. In spite of this fact, however, the *BNC* was chosen as the RC for the present study. This decision was taken not only with regard to the observations made by Scott as discussed earlier (see Section 3.4.3.), but also, mainly, considering the time and effort needed for collecting an alternative RC. In this respect, the *BNC* represented the most convenient choice²⁹.

4.2.3. The Guardian GDC Corpus KW Database

Table: The Guardian GDC Corpus KW Database (see Appendix), shows the KW database the WS tool returned for *The Guardian GDC Corpus* (with the query parameters described in 4.2.2.).

As can be seen from the database, the KWs are mostly predictable. In other words, there are not any items that would, at the first sight, draw attention as pointers highlighting some unexpected aspects of the analysed corpus. In order to get a better idea of the data, I divided the database into seven broad categories: places and institutions, proper names, adjectives and

²⁹ The *BNC* wordlist is available at Scott's website:
<http://www.lexically.net/downloads/version4/downloading%20BNC.htm> (Retrieved November 2015).

nouns denoting nationality, economic and financial lexis, politics and miscellaneous, see Table 3:

Proper names: PLACES, INSTITUTIONS	Proper names: PEOPLE	Nationality adjectives and nouns	Currency and econ- omy	Politics	General/Misc.	Other
<i>Greece</i>	<i>Papandreou</i>	<i>Greek</i>	<i>debt</i>	<i>country</i>	<i>crisis</i>	<i>s *</i>
<i>Athens</i>	<i>Merkel</i>	<i>Greeks</i>	<i>bailout</i>	<i>government</i>	<i>default</i>	<i>t **</i>
<i>EU</i>	<i>Samaras</i>	<i>European</i>	<i>austerity</i>	<i>dawn</i>	<i>measures</i>	<i># ***</i>
<i>IMF</i>	<i>Sarkozy</i>	<i>German</i>	<i>Euro</i>	<i>golden</i>	<i>rescue</i>	<i>don ****</i>
<i>Eurozone</i>	<i>Venizelos</i>	<i>Germans</i>	<i>markets</i>	<i>leaders</i>	<i>has</i>	
<i>Troika</i>	<i>Schäuble</i>		<i>creditors</i>	<i>party</i>	<i>protesters</i>	
<i>Germany</i>	<i>Tsipras</i>		<i>banks</i>	<i>political</i>	<i>said</i>	
<i>Brussels</i>	<i>Juncker</i>		<i>deficit</i>	<i>Syriza</i>	<i>says</i>	
<i>Europe</i>	<i>Lagarde</i>		<i>GDP</i>	<i>countries</i>	<i>immigrants</i>	
<i>Berlin</i>	<i>Papademos</i>		<i>currency</i>	<i>democracy</i>	<i>restructuring</i>	
<i>ECB</i>			<i>economy</i>	<i>parliament</i>	<i>private</i>	
<i>Syntagma</i>			<i>fiscal</i>	<i>referendum</i>	<i>evasion</i>	
<i>UK</i>			<i>financial</i>	<i>reforms</i>	<i>exit</i>	
			<i>fund</i>	<i>summit</i>	<i>public</i>	
			<i>investors</i>	<i>vote</i>	<i>sector</i>	
			<i>tax</i>	<i>minister</i>	<i>will</i>	
			<i>bonds</i>	<i>unemployment</i>	<i>broadcaster</i>	
			<i>finance</i>	<i>elections</i>	<i>its</i>	
			<i>loans</i>	<i>police</i>	<i>package</i>	
			<i>cuts</i>	<i>Pasok</i>	<i>the</i>	
			<i>economic</i>		<i>would</i>	
			<i>lenders</i>			

			<i>pay</i>			
			<i>rating</i>			
			<i>recession</i>			

*s-genitive constructions, **t - part of negative contractions, *** # - percentages, ****don- negative contractions

Table 3: *The GDC Corpus* KWs categories.

Thus organized list of the results revealed that there are, in fact, some key items which might initially seem intriguing as unexpected discourse pointers. This is, for example, the case of the noun *dawn* and the adjective *golden*. The concordance, however, showed, that these KWs are, in fact, collocates - the phrase *Golden Dawn* denoting the Greek ultra-right political party. Thus, the two items were put into the category labelled as ‘Politics’. A closer look at each of the categories then showed there are not any direct evaluatives either. More specifically, it was found out that the database does not involve any KWs that would carry the negative type of evaluation, which is the primary focus of the present discourse study.

Given these observations, I decided to choose the KWs for the analysis with regard to the core indicators of anti-Greek bias - i.e., according to the five coding decisions the present discourse study works with (see Section 2.2., Pavlakis’ study of the “anti-Greek bias”). I turned my attention to two of the categories in Table 4: the group of proper names denoting places and/or institutions, and to the nationality adjectives and nouns. These two groups, though not unexpected, were chosen because they involve items that stand for the most important places and/or institutions, and actors involved in the GDC. Moreover, these KWs are central to the coding decisions adopted in this study as it aims to examine whether the five core indicators of the “anti-Greek bias” (stereotypes evaluating Greeks, austerity measures as punishment for Greek misdeeds in the past; ‘Us versus Them’ mentality; moral narrative of the financial crisis; fear-mongering; for detailed discussion see Section 2.2) are present in the discourse. Of the two sets of proper names/adjectives, I decided to focus on the following KWs: **Greece, EU, IMF, Athens, Greeks**. The following set of further specified research questions, targeting the five core indicators of the “anti-Greek bias”, was then formulated:

- How does the *Guardian* report about **Greece** as a country in a debt crisis?
- What does its reporting suggest about its view of some of the inherent issues involved in

this context? Namely, how does the newspaper perceive **the EU and IMF** (i.e. the Troika) crisis management? This issue involves also the view of **austerity measures**.

- Does the newspaper view austerity measures as a form of a deserved punishment for the **Greece**?
- Does the *Guardian* present the crisis as a result of domestic problems only?
- Does the *Guardian* present the crisis solely as a Greek problem that **Greeks** must solve?
- What perspective does the *Guardian* adopt towards the situation in **Athens**? Does it focus on the protests and strikes only? Does it employ sensationalist language and fear-mongering in describing the situation in the Greek capital?
- In what way does the *Guardian* speak of the **Greeks** as a nation? Are the Greeks being described as lazy, untrustworthy, etc.? Does the newspaper present the Greeks as the main culprits in the context of the crisis?

The five selected KWs cover the main questions associated with the anti-Greek bias narrative. Four other KWs from other categories in Table 4 were considered as important for the analysis. These are namely the key items: **debt** and **austerity** ('Currency and economy' category), and **crisis** and **measures** ('General/Misc.' category). These KWs form together two collocational phrases which are central to the GDC discussion: *debt crisis* and *austerity measures*. The two phrases will be separately further analysed in Section 5.2 with the focus on metaphorical constructions. This analysis will add a further perspective to the observations made through the study of the five selected core KWs.

The following section presents a pilot study of the topmost KW of the corpus: *Greece*.

4.2.4. A pilot study: KW Greece

To finetune the methodological steps of the analysis, a pilot study was performed. At first, I had a look at the collocate lists of the five core KWs selected for the analysis. Among the strongest collocates (within the span -5, 5) of these KWs, grammatical words prevail to a considerable extent. For example, in the case of the most salient KW of this corpus, *Greece*, grammatical words take the first twenty positions. Similarly with *Athens* (4th most salient KW), grammatical words also take the first 20 positions, *Greek* (3rd on the list of KWs) grammatical words take

the first 10 positions in the collocate list, *EU* (5th) first 10 positions in the collocate list are taken by grammatical words, and *IMF* (14th) 8 of the first 10 positions in the collocate list are grammatical words.

As noted earlier, in CADS grammatical words are usually not dismissed. Whether they figure in KW or collocate lists, closed class words are perceived as important elements that can help an analyst to delineate the meanings constructed in a particular discourse. A closer look at *The Guardian GDC Corpus* KW database validated these assertions. In a further examination of the data, I focused on the topmost KW: *Greece*, which occurs in 92 % texts of the corpus with nearly 1800 occurrences. Table 4 shows the collocate list of *Greece*.

Word	Relation	Texts	Freq.	Word	Relation	Texts	Freq.
<i>the</i>	2348.02	210	1026	<i>was</i>	271.92	74	106
<i>to</i>	1880.89	199	641	<i>by</i>	214.10	78	103
<i>in</i>	1611.19	180	522	<i>have</i>	212.78	79	100
<i>s</i>	2442.82	186	517	<i>said</i>	198.73	64	85
<i>of</i>	1092.52	181	485	<i>from</i>	182.66	62	79
<i>and</i>	796.09	160	358	<i>would</i>	234.94	57	79
<i>a</i>	726.14	169	339	<i>at</i>	174.34	63	77
<i>is</i>	1045.56	151	320	<i>been</i>	187.04	56	69
<i>that</i>	828.95	137	288	<i>had</i>	191.54	54	67
<i>for</i>	767.52	134	244	<i>but</i>	135.15	55	67
<i>has</i>	579.69	110	180	<i>crisis</i>	173.26	52	62
<i>on</i>	359.31	109	149	<i>are</i>	95.05	54	61
<i>its</i>	464.88	90	136	<i>Eurozone</i>	207.59	47	60
<i>it</i>	266.66	87	127	<i>bailout</i>	217.12	46	57
<i>with</i>	288.92	89	123	<i>an</i>	112.47	44	53
<i>not</i>	397.42	80	122	<i>if</i>	165.65	45	53
<i>be</i>	301.06	76	116	<i>economic</i>	159.36	41	47
<i>as</i>	283.82	82	116	<i>out</i>	144.57	42	47
<i>will</i>	339.82	77	114	<i>European</i>	109.43	37	46
<i>debt</i>	412.34	68	109	<i>Euro</i>	163.34	30	45

Table 4: Top 40 collocates of the KW *Greece* in *The Guardian GDC Corpus* (calculated with log likelihood over the span -5/5).

As can be seen, the collocate list of this KW involves a range of grammatical words. The analysis focused on the most numerous, and statistically most significant, items in this group - on prepositions. The analysis of these collocates revealed presence of certain repetitive patterns. For example, I looked at the concordance of the preposition *on*, which collocates with *Greece* in 109 texts (out of 349). See Table 5:

Word	Freq.	Total Left	Total Right	L5	L4	L3	L2	L1	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5
<i>on</i>	149	84	65	11	17	9	9	38	6	16	20	12	11

Table 5: The analysed collocate *on* and its detailed distribution.

The most frequent collocate position of *on* is L1 making up a pattern *on Greece* with 38 occurrences. The detailed survey of this phrase showed a dominance of structures containing lexis referring to a negative external influence, for example, *impose on Greece*, *pressure on Greece*, etc. This finding was considered to be highly relevant for this study since it indicated that the *Guardian* possibly presents Greece as a country subjected to external/foreign control and can thus arguably be interpreted as indicating “the preferred meanings of the particular discourse” (Groom 2010: 63).

In general, the preliminary analysis of the KW *Greece* provided evidence showing that focusing the analysis on grammatical words can be beneficial for the present study. The analytical steps performed in the pilot study are replicated in the analysis itself: the collocate analysis focuses on grammatical (mainly prepositional) collocates of the selected KWs, their most typical position and patterns they make up together with the given KW. The analysis focuses on lexical choices. Moreover, with the KW *Athens*, a cluster analysis is employed in order to gain an initial idea about the patterns surrounding this KW.

Section 5 follows with qualitative analysis of the selected KWs examining the lexis that creates the evaluative meanings and indicates the position of the authors in the discourse. In the first part (Section 5.1.), the KWs *Greece*, *EU*, *IMF*, *Athens* and *Greeks* will be analysed. In Section 5.2., additional KWs - *austerity*, *measures*, *debt* and *crisis* will be examined. This analysis will focus on metaphorical constructions of these four KWs and will add another perspective to the overall picture of the *Guardian* GDC discourse. Together, then, the analyses presented in these two sections should allow for a complex delineation of the *Guardian*’s position within ‘the EEC discourse framework’. The following Section provides a separate methodological account for

the metaphor-oriented part of the analysis.

4.2.5. A metaphor-oriented analysis of the Guardian: methodological account

Any corpus analysis of figurative language inevitably struggles with the choice of suitable methodology. The main problem with this type of investigation is that most conceptual mappings (with the exception of similes) are not linked to particular language forms, according to which they could be searched in a corpus. The use of a semantic search suggests itself as the best possible solution in this case. However, as Stefanowitsch notes, most of the current large corpora are not semantically annotated, which fact is “true even more so of corpora assembled by researchers in the context of specific research questions” (Stefanowitsch 2006: 2), as it is the case with the present study. Consequently, “a number of strategies for extracting ... conceptual mappings from non-annotated corpora have been proposed” (Stefanowitsch, 2006: 2). These include:

- Manual searching
- Searching for source domain vocabulary
- Searching for target domain vocabulary
- Searching for sentences containing lexical items from both the source domain and the target domain
- Searching for metaphors based on markers of metaphor.

In the present corpus-assisted metaphor analysis, the third-mentioned - i.e. the target domain-oriented approach is applied. The analysis focuses on four KWs forming two target domains: *debt, crisis, austerity, measures*.

The strategy of analysing metaphors via the target domain vocabulary is not unchallenged. It is often pointed out that its use restricts the analysis only to a subset of metaphorical expressions - those that involve the target domain vocabulary. In his corpus-assisted metaphor study Stefanowitsch (2006), however, demonstrates that this aspect should not be perceived as a drawback, but rather as an advantage of the method.

Stefanowitsch calls the metaphors that contain both the source and the target domain items as ‘metaphorical patterns’ (MPs). In his corpus-based analysis of the target domain of EMOTIONS, he starts with choosing five emotions (anger, disgust, fear, happiness and sadness) that are, as he states, mentioned most frequently in the psychological literature. The corpus citations of these target domain items are sampled, and each of the samples is examined in terms

of metaphorical patterns. The results are then compared with the observations presented in Zoltán Kövecses' study based on introspective data (Kövecses, 1998). The comparison reveals that the 'metaphorical pattern analysis' (MPA, viz. Stefanowitsch 2006) is superior to introspective method in terms of the coverage of metaphorical expressions. Stefanowitsch also demonstrates with his analysis that "the reliance on representative lexical items is, [indeed], a methodological advantage that allows for [a more subtle delineation of the metaphorical mappings occurring with a particular target domain]" (Stefanowitsch 2006: 65). For example, the delineation of MPs allows the analyst to account for the differences and similarities between synonymous/antonymous target domain items. It is also possible to determine which MPs are most prominent within a set of target domain items. Thus, as these observations suggest, the searching for the target domain items represents a potent and valuable method of metaphor corpus study.

The metaphor analysis in Section 5.2 of the present study focuses on two prominent abstract concepts of the *Guardian* GDC discourse: *debt crisis* and *austerity measures*. The study of these target domains rests on the examination of the core KWs *crisis* and *austerity* as well as their respective highly salient collocates KWs *debt* and *measures*. Unlike with the analysis of the five KWs representing the main places/institutions/players in the GDC, the metaphor-led analysis focuses on lexical collocates only since metaphors are not tied to particular grammatical structures.

The concordance lines are manually searched for the presence of metaphorical constructions (MPs). Lexical collocates pointing to MPs are then discussed in more detail in Section 5.2. Also, the *BNC* search is used largely as it facilitates and supports the classification of the delineated MPs. As further source dictionary definitions are confronted. The study works with four categories of metaphors established by Deignan (2005) on the basis of the theoretical models presented by Lakoff (1992) and Goatly (1997) and the empirically-grounded criteria arising from the corpus analysis. Deignan distinguishes between the following categories: 'innovative', 'historical', 'conventional' and 'dead' metaphors.

With the first two types, the identification is "relatively straightforward using corpus data" (Deignan 2005: 40). The primary corpus criterion for innovative metaphor is a low frequency of occurrence of a particular sense of a word. As for historical metaphors, these are, as Deignan specifies, "senses originally formed by metaphorical extension from a literal sense that has since dropped out of use" (Deignan 2005: 40). As such, they can be easily identified using corpus data, the primary criterion being a complete absence of the related literal sense

in the concordance of a particular linguistic metaphor.

With dead and conventional metaphors, the situation is a little bit more complex. The corpus approach does not support their identification to the same extent as with innovative and historical metaphors. Still, it can provide some clues in this respect. In Goatly's (1997) theoretical model, conventional metaphors are labelled as "tired" and dead as "sleeping". His distinction between them "depends on whether the speakers are prompted to think of the literal meaning, for *tired* metaphors, or if they are not, for *sleeping* metaphors" (Deignan 2005: 41). This criterion is obviously rather difficult to apply, since speakers can differ in their opinion on this issue. Corpus analysis represents, in this respect, a procedure which can bring more objectivity to distinguishing between conventional and dead metaphors. On the basis of the assumption that "conventionalized metaphor is dependent on a literal sense in a way that a dead metaphor is not" Deignan formulates a 'coreness-dependency principle', which states:

[W]here a literal sense of a word is perceived as more core than an established metaphorical sense, the second sense is regarded as a conventionalized metaphor. Where there does not seem to be such a relationship of coreness and dependency between a metaphor and its literal counterpart, the metaphor is regarded as dead. (Deignan 2005: 42)

Since core meaning and dependency in a pair of related senses becomes often manifested linguistically, it can be established through a corpus linguistic analysis - i.e. by examining the metaphorical citations in a concordance for the indicators of dependency (post/pre-modification). If the metaphorical use is not freestanding in most of the citations, i.e. "it is qualified [by] other target domain words," then the metaphor is conventional.

All of these criteria are used for the classification in the analysis in Section 5.2.

5. A corpus-assisted discourse analysis of the Guardian

5.1. ‘The Guardian discourse’

This chapter will, through a qualitative study of the selected KWs and their collocations, aim to answer the research question: How does the *Guardian* construct the GDC in their online reporting? The position of the *Guardian* will be examined with particular focus on the bilateral ‘EEC discourse framework’ (see Section 2.2.). Does the *Guardian*, the traditionally EU supportive and socially aware newspaper, lean towards “the Northern diagnosis” interpretative framework or is it more in line with “the Southern opinion”? The data will be analysed in respect with the five core indicators of the “anti-Greek bias” described by Pavlakis (2013: 28) (for full description see Section 2.2.), for an easier reference throughout the analysis the indicators have been numbered:

- 1) Stereotypes evaluating Greeks
- 2) Austerity measures as punishment for Greek misdeeds in the past
- 3) ‘Us versus them’ mentality
- 4) Moral narrative of the financial crisis
- 5) Fear-mongering

This part of the analysis (5.1.) will deal with five chosen KWs denoting the main players in the GDC and will focus on evaluative layers present in the text that may indicate the *Guardian*’s position. The analysis will first present the KW *Greece*, which embodies the main player in the discourse and is at the same time statistically the most salient KW. Then the focus will turn to the KWs *EU* and *IMF*, which stand in opposition to *Greece* in the discourse. After that, the analysis will look at *Athens* that embody the main place of protests against the *EU* and *IMF*. The last KW analysed is *Greeks*, the people of Greece, that have become the “collateral damage” in this *epic battle* (see below ex. 6).

Keyword	Texts	Frequency of occurrence
<i>Greece</i>	217 / 91.6%	1787
<i>Athens</i>	92 / 38.8%	401
<i>EU</i>	75 / 31.7%	357
<i>Greeks</i>	52 / 22%	237
<i>IMF</i>	44 / 18.6%	245

Table 6: The analysed keywords and their frequencies.

KW *Greece*

The list of the first 40 collocates of the KW *Greece* has been already presented in the pilot study (see Section 4.2.4, Table 4). Based on the results of the initial examination of the data, further analysis focuses on selected prepositions (shaded in Table 7) featuring among the top collocates as these were found to be most relevant for the present study. Prepositions together with their KW node make up the basis of various patterns that would not otherwise, due to their lower individual frequencies of occurrence, make it to the KW list. The following Table 7 gives a more detailed overview of these prepositions collocating/colligating with *Greece*. Shaded is their typical and for the present study most relevant (though not always the most frequent), and thus further analysed, position in relation to the node word *Greece*. It is always the position immediately preceding the node (L1), except for *as*, where the analysed position is R1.

Word	Freq.	Total left	Total right	L5	L4	L3	L2	L1	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5
<i>to</i>	641	320	321	48	61	50	89	72	50	59	84	68	60
<i>for</i>	244	163	81	20	19	6	10	108	18	10	20	15	18
<i>on</i>	149	84	65	11	17	9	9	38	6	16	20	12	11
<i>with</i>	123	57	66	9	13		3	32	14	3	19	13	17
<i>as</i>	116	61	55	11	13	9	2	26	28	3	11	6	7
<i>by</i>	103	44	59	7	8	7	5	17	12	3	11	21	12
<i>out</i>	47	28	19	2	2	4	10	10	4	1	3	4	7

Table 7: The analysed prepositional collocates of the KW *Greece* and their detailed distribution.

for Greece

In terms of frequency, *for Greece*, is the most frequent combination. The underlying pattern found to be dominant is: ‘NOUN / PRONOUN / ADJECTIVE + *for Greece*’ occurring in 80% of cases (86 occurrences out of the 108 hits). The first slot of this sequence is often (41% of occurrences / 35 out of the 86) taken by nouns or noun phrases related to the Troika GDC management. These are either general nouns, e.g. *plan/programme for Greece*, or more concrete noun phrases, such as nouns referring to the provision of loans, e.g. *(financial) assistance, bailout (deal), (financial) support, funds, financial aid, loan agreement, bilateral loans*. Upon further detailed examination of these concordances, presence of evaluative meaning was identified in 20% (7 cases). All of these turned out to be clearly negative, see example (1).

(1) Greece, **unfortunately**, is not being offered any grants from the European Union or the IMF. Their **plan for Greece** is all about **pain** and **punishment**. And with a public debt of 115% of GDP and a budget deficit of 13.6%, Greece will be **forced to** make spending cuts that will **not only** have **drastic social consequences** but will almost certainly **plunge** the country deeper **into recession**.³⁰

This excerpt comes from an article by Mark Weisbrot, an American economist and co-director of the ‘Centre for Economic and Policy Research’ in Washington DC. As an expert commentator, Weisbrot regularly contributes to several leading newspapers, including the *Guardian*. Weisbrot’s texts are written exclusively for these media. The quoted article was published by the *Guardian* in April 2010, which was the period marked by increasingly intense negotiations about the Troika’s involvement in the GDC solution. Weisbrot, commenting on the radical austerity measures, notes that the procyclical fiscal policy may bring about negative economic and social phenomena, such as higher unemployment. Weisbrot earlier in the article discusses a case of Estonia, where this fiscal policy had been applied some time earlier successfully, however with Troika’s further support in the provision of grants. This type of financial assistance has not been, as stressed in the excerpt, offered to Greece. As a result of a change in the official EU crisis policy, the Troika proposed to the Greeks the provision of loans,

³⁰ A Baltic future for Greece?, 28 April 2010.

conditioned by the adoption of austerity and this *plan for Greece*, as Weisbrot notes, *is all about pain and punishment*.

The choice of the vocabulary in this comment is particularly interesting. The use of the word *punishment* in association with the Troika's GDC strategy might, at the first sight, resonate with the anti-Greek bias indicator no. 2: 'austerity measures as a punishment'. However, the broader context indicates that this case represents the outright opposite, the commentator in fact sympathises with Greece's situation: Greece is *unfortunately* not offered any other financial support, instead the country is *forced to* spending cuts that are not seen here as deserved sanctions, but rather as a severe form of *punishment* with *drastic social consequences*, which will *plunge the country deeper into the crisis*. Another example (ex. 2) comes from a different article by the same author.

(2) Paul Krugman responds to my op-ed earlier this week in the New York Times on Greece and the Eurozone with agreement and disagreement. He agrees that "Argentina is the right parallel" for the Greek situation, and that "**the programme for Greece** is **not working**; it's **not even close to working**." But he disagrees on exiting the euro³¹

As the example (2) shows, the commentator discusses here a particular reaction to his earlier text published in *The New York Times*. The author of this response, the American economist Paul Krugman, shares Weisbrot's negative view of the Troika's proceedings in Greece as he states that: *the programme for Greece is not working; it's not even close to working*. Even though this is in fact quoted, this comment can still be considered an integral part of the *Guardian* discourse, as it shows the complexity of the media discourse intertextuality. It can be viewed in terms of multiple perspectives that are repeated and thus strengthen the comment's value.

The remaining five occurrences containing evaluation involve more complex discourse patterns. The negative construction of the Troika GDC management arises, in these concordance lines, from an interaction of two or more discourse elements and the evaluative layer is less direct or only implied. Consider example (3):

(3) Germany has **signalled** it is preparing **a third rescue package for Greece** -

³¹ Where I part from Paul Krugman on Greece and the Euro, 13 May 2011.

provided the **debt-stricken** country implements “**rigorous**” austerity measures **blamed for** record levels of **unemployment** and a **dramatic drop** in GDP.³²

This example clearly shows the power distribution, where *Germany* stands here in opposition to *debt-stricken* Greece. *Germany* is in position to *signal* willingness to help *provided* certain conditions are fulfilled. The ‘debt assistance’ (*rescue package for Greece*) is conditioned with *rigorous* austerity measures that bring about unfavourable social and economic impact, *record levels of unemployment and a dramatic drop in GDP*. As a result of the strong interdependency of *austerity measures* and *a rescue package*, both at the discourse level and in reality, the negative evaluation of the *austerity measures* is projected onto the *rescue package*, which would under different circumstances be considered as positive. This then causes the indirect negative notion of the Troika’s GDC strategy as a whole. Consider example (4).

(4) In Berlin and Paris - where officials had **just agreed to a bailout for Greece** which included **the biggest** debt restructuring **in world history** - Merkel and Sarkozy were **incensed**. Their **patience had run its course**. They **summoned** Papandreou to Cannes, **determined** to make the point - even if it meant using **brute force** to **confront** a democratically elected leader facing a population **already seething over the price of such aid**.³³

This excerpt comes from an article which deals retrospectively with the situation in Greece in November 2011. At that time, the PM Papandreou announced his plan for a referendum about the terms of the foreign aid. The news about Papandreou’s intentions enraged the EU officials who, after complex negotiations, *just agreed* to the second financial package in two years, which is *the biggest in the history*, again conditioned by the application of further, even more severe, measures. The two interrelated discourse elements, *a bailout for Greece* and the required *debt restructuring* interact here with *a population already seething over the price of such aid*. The distribution of power is again clear, on one hand Merkel and Sarkozy on the other Papandreou, who is in addition confronted with frustrated Greek population. Merkel and Sarkozy whose *patience* is up and who are *determined* to have it their way feel they are in a position to *summon* the Greek PM and use *brute force* if necessary. At the same time, it is however acknowledged, that Papandreou is, in the same way as Merkel and Sarkozy, *democratically*

³² Germany preparing third financial rescue for Greece, 2 February 2014.

³³ How Greece pulled back from the brink of plunging Europe into chaos, 22 May 2014.

elected leader. Again, the overall view of the Troika and its GDC management comes out as unfavourable. Similar observations can be made in example (5):

(5) In their **efforts** to **hammer out a second loan agreement for Greece**, eurozone ministers are focusing on the differences between bond swaps and bond rollovers, the **tensions** between Berlin and the International Monetary Fund and the European Central Bank or **how far** continental banks **can withstand another massive shock**. Taken for granted in these negotiations is that the Greeks (and by implication, the Irish and the Portuguese) **must accept** more austerity. **Yet in**, whether on the streets or even at a policy-making level, these technical details **barely** figure on the agenda. It's **not just that** the terms are different, the **entire** debate is too. Here, the argument concerns **how much more** austerity the Greek economy, its people and even the government **can take** - because all three are already at **breaking point**.³⁴

These comments occur in an article which reports about the situation at Athen's Syntagma Square in summer 2011, the time when the so-far peaceful protest atmosphere became tense as a result of the renewed negotiations on the acceptance of further austerity measures. The author of the article seeks to convey the atmosphere at one of the protest meetings. He draws attention to the major difference in the viewpoints on the governance of the GDC between the EU authorities, the Greek government and the Greek populace. He notes that while there is a *tension* between the EU institutions and fear of *another massive shock* in the banking sector, the acceptance of *more austerity* is perceived as a matter of course by the EU finance ministers - Greece *must accept* it. However, it is unbearable from the perspective of ordinary Greeks, it is hardly acceptable *even* for the Greek government, and the question is *how much more* they *can take* because their situation has already reached a *breaking point*. It is the juxtaposition of the EU officials' concerns *to hammer out a second loan agreement* and the Greek fears of future existence under the next wave of austerity that implicitly gives rise again to the negative impression of the Troika GDC management as such, the interests of the creditors are preferred over those of Greek people.

Among the rest of the collocates at the left side of the phrase *for Greece* (i.e. the collocates that are not explicitly related to the Troika GDC management, 51 of the 86 hits), five cases of evaluation have been found, all again clearly negative. The collocates are either abstract nouns or adjectives at L3/L4 positions that all suggest a negative view of the Troika's handling

³⁴ Athens protests: Syntagma Square on frontline of European austerity protests, 19 June 2011.

of the GDC as in example (6).

(6) Antonis Samaras, **Harvard-trained** economist **and head of** the main centre-right party, says **the medicine is wrong for Greece**. In his **ultra-modern office**, seated behind an array of photographs autographed by the likes of Ted Kennedy and George Bush Snr, Antonis Samaras **does not come across as a particularly anti-establishment figure**. **But** as president of Greece's main opposition, the centre-right New Democracy party, that is what he has become. In Europe's **epic battle** to resolve the conundrum of Greece's **crippling** €350bn debt, the Harvard-trained economist has **disagreed, fundamentally**, with the "medicine" that has been **meted** out to the country. "The **medicine** Greece has been given, **doesn't work**," he says, listing the **barrage** of tax increases, wage **cuts** and pension **drops** demanded by the "troika" **in return for emergency aid**.³⁵

The *Guardian* Greek correspondent, Helena Smith, describes in this article the interview she conducted with Antonis Samaras, the then leader of the main opposition party and the latter prime minister. Smith clearly stresses here, that Samaras is very competent in his judgements, he is *Harvard trained*. The first sentence of the excerpt involves a metaphor in which the concept of a medical cure is being mapped on the domain of the Troika crisis management. The *medicine for Greece* that the Troika had chosen for healing the Greek troubles is presented simply as *wrong* and not working. The criticism rests, just as with the previously discussed examples, primarily on the negative view of the austerity measures as part of the GDC management. Samaras is listing the negative aspects, choosing lexis, such as: *barrage of tax increases, wage cuts and pension drops*. These are directly quoted and as such cannot be seen as an integral part of the *Guardian* discourse; still, the fact that the newspaper publishes Samaras' opinion is, in itself, relevant. It suggests something about the stance of the newspaper, which comes across in this excerpt in other ways as well. Smith's vocabulary is again expressive, she sketches the image of a *Harvard trained economist* in his *ultra modern office*, she stresses he is no *anti-establishment figure*, he is just one of the players in an *epic battle* against a *crippling debt* and *fundamentally disagrees* with the way the situation is dealt with and feels that the *medicine* has been *meted* out to his country without further options.

Another direct negative evaluation of the austerity measures applied by the Troika occurs, in the following example (7), which contains the abstract noun *failure*. The lexis

³⁵ Greek austerity measures' unlikely opponent: an old roommate of the PM, 5 August 2011.

suggesting negative evaluation is in bold.

(7) Austerity has been **a failure, for Greece** and for the rest of the single currency. **The idea was** to end the recession quickly and **prevent the contagion spreading** to the other 16 members of the club. **Neither has happened.** “There is precisely **zero chance** of austerity working,” said Yanis Varoufakis, once a speechwriter for the former socialist prime minister George Papandreou, now an economics professor in the US.³⁶

There is one more example containing a negative abstract noun, *disaster*, at the same L3 position worth mentioning (ex. 8), the lexis contributing to the negative evaluation is bolded.

(8) As the eurozone authorities move closer to the accepting the **inevitable** Greek debt default/restructuring, there are some who have pointed to the Jamaican debt restructuring of last year as a model. It’s **hard to imagine a worse disaster for Greece**. It is worth a closer look at what has been done to Jamaica, not only as a **warning** to Greece, but to shed some light on the **damage** that can be done when “the international community” is **willing to sacrifice** a country for the sake of creditors’ interests.³⁷

In this opinion piece, Mark Weisbrot focuses on the then discussed possibility of taking Jamaica as a model for the restructuring of the Greek debt. Weisbrot describes this step as *a disaster for Greece*. According to him, Jamaican case should serve as a *warning* to Greece - as an example of a debt restructuring done in favour of the creditors’ interests mainly.

In general, the analysis of the pattern *for Greece* has shown that the *Guardian* discursive construction of the Troika GDC management tends to be negative. The newspaper presents the economic “rescue” programme for Greece unfavourably - as a type of a strategy that “sacrifices a country for the sake of creditors’ interests” (Weisbrot, the *Guardian*, 22 July.2011). As the discussed examples show, the negative evaluation rests primarily on the criticism of the austerity measures that stand in contrast to financial assistance. The interaction between these concepts and their co-texts gives rise to directly or indirectly negative construction of the Troika GDC management. Austerity, as the part of the Troika GDC management, is viewed as a policy that has disastrous effects on the Greek population and that, at the same time, does not solve,

³⁶ Troubled Greece: fears of ‘first domino’ to fall as austerity is counted a failure, 31 May 2012.

³⁷ Jamaica’s crippling debt crisis must serve as a warning to Greece, 22 July 2011.

but deepens the crisis. In other words, it is not presented as a deserved punishment (indicator 2). Quite on the contrary, it is seen as a form of an undeserved impoverishment of the masses.

to Greece

These observations were then further supported in the analysis of the prepositional collocate *to*. The preposition collocates with the KW *Greece* in 199 texts with altogether 641 hits, out of which the most frequent collocate position is L2 with 89 hits. In these cases *to* occurs as part of infinitive structures, i.e. *to-VERB Greece*. Thus, the focus of the analysis moved to the second most frequent position of this collocate, L1 with 72 hits: *to Greece*. It was found out that in 20 of the 72 occurrences, the pattern *to Greece* is preceded by nouns or noun phrases related to the Troika GDC management, e.g. *loan(s) to Greece*, *cuts to Greece*. Upon closer examination, in 6 of these 20 occurrences the presence of evaluation was revealed. The evaluative meaning is again negative in all of the cases, just as in the case of *for Greece* discussed earlier.

Consider following examples, lexis contributing to the negative prosody is again bolded. Example (9) shows direct negative evaluation of the austerity measures, the article deals with the social impact of the crisis. The health service saving policies, here presented as the main cause behind the rapid rise of HIV and malaria in Greece, are described as *savage cuts*. Example (10) again shows discursive interaction between the austerity measures and the financial assistance. It comes from an article which discusses the 2013 IMF report, in which it was acknowledged, for the first time, that the programme for Greece was wrong. The *Guardian* employs again, in this case, information from an external source. Unlike the previously mentioned examples, here, it represents part of the original *Guardian* discourse. This is mainly because this article represents the newspaper's own summary of the message conveyed in the IMF report.

(9) Jon Henley finds a medical aid organisation trying to plug the gaps as the health service nears breakdown. The **savage cuts to Greece's** health service budget have led to a **sharp rise in HIV/Aids and malaria** in the **beleaguered** nation, said a leading aid organisation on Thursday.³⁸

(10) The International Monetary Fund **admitted** it had **failed** to realise the **damage** austerity would do **to Greece** as the Washington-based organisation catalogued **mistakes** made during **the bailout** of the stricken eurozone country.³⁹

³⁸ HIV and malaria make a comeback, 15 March 2012.

³⁹ IMF admits: we failed to realise the damage austerity would do to Greece, 5 June 2013.

with Greece

The pattern *with Greece* again revealed presence of negative evaluation of the Troika GDC management. Preposition *with* collocates with the KW *Greece* in 89 texts (altogether 123 hits) and most significant is its L1 position forming up the collocation *with Greece* (38 hits). In the concordances of this phrase, the introductory adverbial clauses prevail (12 occurrences), a form often used in newspaper texts for the purpose of summarizing, e.g.: *With Greece experiencing its worst recession since the second world war; more migrants have voluntarily elected to leave the country than at any other time and any other nation in the EU*. The negative evaluative construction of the Troika's proceedings occurs in 3 cases. In one of them (ex. 11), the *Guardian* notes that:

- (11) The readiness of the EU single currency group to show solidarity **with Greece** is **not altruistic**. Were the speculators to succeed in pushing Greece out of the euro area, EU banks heavily involved in Greece would be **hit hard**. The resulting **crisis** turning a **severe** Greek recession into a **slump** would also **weaken** the already **fragile** economic recovery elsewhere in the EU.⁴⁰

In this excerpt, the negative comment targets the EU commission as one of the Troika bodies participating in the GDC management. The article represents yet another example of the *Guardian*'s focus on the privileged position of banks during the GDC. In another case (ex. 12), the phrase *dealings with Greece* occurs in another article published on IMF 2013 report:

- (12) In an internal report released on Wednesday evening, the IMF conceded that a **catalogue of blunders** had been made in **the dealings with Greece** by the "troika" of officials from the IMF, the commission and the European Central Bank.⁴¹

The phrasal verb *to deal with* can be then found in one more line (ex. 13). The particular extract deserves attention since it indicates the existence of a discourse framework that embraces all the hitherto-presented findings concerning the KW *Greece*. The article focuses on the discussions in Germany in spring 2014 about the possibility of the third bailout for Greece states:

- (13) The renewed help follows revelations of **clandestine** talks between Schäuble

⁴⁰ Why the EU had to bail out Greece, 11 February 2010.

⁴¹ Brussels fights back in Greek crisis blame game, 6 June 2013.

and leading EU figures over **how to deal with Greece**, which **despite** receiving the **biggest** bailout in global financial history, continues to remain the **weakest link** in the eurozone.⁴²

It is the co-occurrence of the expressions *clandestine*⁴³ *talks*, *how to deal with Greece*, and *the weakest link in the eurozone* that plays important role in this discourse segment. The interaction of these discourse elements produces the impression of ‘discussions about Greece without Greece,’ the country being *the weakest link* subjected to the decisions of *the EU figures*.

on Greece

The analysis of another grammatical collocate, preposition *on*, showed that the view of Greece as a country subjected to a negative external influence, is not restricted to the above-mentioned (ex. 13) concordance citation only. Preposition *on* collocates with the KW *Greece* in 63 texts (89 hits); its most frequent position is again L1 (20 hits) making up the combination *on Greece*. A closer examination of the concordance of this phrase shows a range of lexical items that refer to a negatively evaluated external influence. There are verbal phrases containing verbs *impose*, *inflict*, *force* and nominal phrases containing nouns *pressure*, *attack(s)*.

The verb *impose* (6 of the 20 hits) has according to the BNC⁴⁴ search a clearly negative semantic prosody. It collocates with negative abstract nouns, such as: *restrictions*, *sanctions*, *constraints*, *ban*, *duty*, or *obligation*. In all of the six cases where *impose* occurs with *on Greece*, it is the austerity that stands for the negative external influence. Two of the six hits occur in the same text - see example (14).

(14) The **usurious** conditions of the Greek bailout reveals **Brussels’ colonial mindset** – but Athens is showing **citizens can resist**. After **months of attacks** on the **supposedly feckless Greeks**, the western media, intellectuals such Amartya Sen and Jürgen Habermas and the United Nations have **finally woken up** to the fact that the **catastrophic austerity imposed on Greece** is **unsustainable**. It was about **time**. This is an **unprecedented** and **morally odious** type of **collective punishment**

⁴² Germany preparing third financial rescue for Greece, 2 February 2014.

⁴³ **clandestine** - “kept secret or done secretly, especially because illicit”, the *Oxford English Dictionary* online, accessed June, 24, 2016, <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/clandestine>.

⁴⁴ The parameters of the collocate search in the BNC: -5, 5 span, min.frequency 3, log-likelihood fc.

imposed on a majority of Greeks, who did not see a penny from the **profligacy** of their rulers and who live close to the **poverty line**.⁴⁵

This excerpt comes from an article written by two external, yet regular, the *Guardian* contributors: Costas Douzinas, a professor of Law at the University of London, Greek leftist politician, an author of well-known works in the field of human right studies, and a loud critic of the Troika's economic programme for Greece; and Petros Papaconstantinou, a foreign affairs editor at the Greek centre-right daily *Kahtimerini*. The text focuses on the rise of protests movements at Athen's Syntagma Square in June 2011. According to Douzinas and Papaconstantinou, the demonstrations in front of the Greek Parliament had brought the true nature of the Greek situation to light for the rest of the world. After a year of the intense negative campaign targeted at the Greeks, many had, according to Douzinas and Papaconstantinou, started to realize that *the catastrophic austerity imposed on Greece is unsustainable*. This statement presents not only Greece as a country subjected to strongly negative decisions made outside of the country but also the nation itself. There is also a discursive construction that presents austerity as a form of an undeserved (*unprecedented and morally odious*) *punishment* of average people who have not caused the crisis in the first place. This relates to indicators 2 and 4 of the anti-Greek bias (austerity as deserved punishment, moral narrative of the crisis).

The verb *inflict* is present in 2 of the 20 occurrences. It is also a verb with a clearly negative semantic prosody; according to the BNC search, it collocates with words that indicate even physically negative impact, e.g. *wounds, harm, damage*, etc. In example (15) this resonates with the use of *painful*.

(15) Authorities mount **draconian** security operation for visit of Schäuble, who is **blamed for painful cutbacks inflicted on Greece**.⁴⁶

The verb *force* also occurs twice. The following example (16) from an article on the IMF 2013 report is interesting in that it involves also one other verbal structure that implies a negative external influence: the phrasal verb *wreak on*.⁴⁷ The phrase is used in reference to the negative social impact of the GDC.

⁴⁵ Greece is standing up to EU neocolonialism, 27 June 2011.

⁴⁶ Security tight in Greece as German finance minister Schäuble arrives, 18 July 2013.

⁴⁷ **wreak on** - "to cause (a large amount of) damage or harm", the *Oxford English Dictionary* online, accessed June, 24, 2016, http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/wreak?q=wreak+on+#wreak__8.

(16) Last week the IMF admitted it had been too sanguine about the **devastation** austerity would **wreak on Greece** – and that some of the measures **forced on Athens** in return for its emergency loans had been **wrong**. Put bluntly, the **social crisis** catalogued by Stuckler and Basu needn't have been so devastating, and fewer Greeks need have died.⁴⁸

The noun phrase *pressure on* has been found in 5 occurrences. Two of the 5 hits occur in one article. This text (ex. 17, 18), published in March 2012, draws attention to the fact that the major saving cuts in Greece have been made mainly in health and social services, while the country's military spending remained untouched. This development had, according to the article, followed the interests of the leading EU states - mainly Germany and France, who have profited largely on a long-term basis from the arms deals with Greece. Greece is again portrayed as a country subjected to a negative external influence. Moreover, the examples 17 and 18 also bear relevance with regard to 'the morality tale framework' - they point to the share of guilt for the crisis on the side of the EU/ to the hypocrisy of the EU leaders criticising Greece for the spending they supported and benefited from (indicator 4). The author, Paul Haydon (another external, yet regular, *Guardian* contributor) asks:

(17) So why has Greece continued to spend such **huge amounts** on its army? One major factor is that France and Germany's arms industries have **greatly profited** from this **profligate** military **spending**, leading their governments to put **pressure on Greece** not to cancel **lucrative** arms **deals**.⁴⁹

Later in the article, particular EU leaders are named as the source of this influence:

(18) Recent months have also seen continued **pressure from Merkel and Sarkozy on Greece** to honour its arms deals amid ongoing negotiations over the current bailout deal.

Other cases of *pressure on Greece* (2 hits) come from articles published in April 2010 (i.e. before the agreement on the first bailout was made). These describe how the reluctant attitude of the EU towards bailout negotiations became reflected at the markets as the investors started to sell the Greek bonds. Greece at the beginning of the crisis is constructed as a country stuck

⁴⁸ IMF and Greece: Institutional Monstrous Failure, 9 June 2013.

⁴⁹ Greece's austerity doesn't extend to its arms budget, 21 May 2012.

in between two negative external influences: those coming from the EU and those from the financial markets (ex. 19).

(19) Four days after Greece requested a €45bn safety net from 15 EU countries and the IMF to ward off the prospect of a sovereign default, Merkel hedged her bets, but promised clearer answers within days. The **mixed signals from Berlin** saw the financial markets **heap further pressure on Greece** with **borrowing costs soaring to yet another record high.**⁵⁰

Another construction of this type occurs in the concordance of the noun phrase *attack(s) on Greece* (3 hits). The concordance can be found in an article from February 2010 discussing *the speculative attacks on Greece* (ex. 20).⁵¹ The text quotes Joseph Stiglitz, the Nobel prize-winning economist, who has been appealing at that time to the EU to help Greece, the article employs reference to *the solidarity framework*, in contrast with the indicator 3 ('Us vs Them mentality'). Apart from this case, there are two more occurrences containing this phrase. One of these was already revealed as part of the cited example from the concordance *impose on Greece* (ex. 14 - article by C. Douzinas). The other case comes from another article by the same author - see example (21), where Douzinas uses again expressive and metaphorical lexis (bolded).

(21) Additionally, the left must mobilise European public opinion. If the **attack on** mining communities and the NUM in the UK became **emblematic of early neoliberalism**, **the attack on Greece** is the beginning of its second phase. If Greece falls, the markets will no doubt attack Spain, Portugal, Italy and Britain next, with the European Commission **washing its hands Pontius Pilate-like**, while sporting the robes of a tragic chorus. The future of democracy and social Europe is in the balance - **the Greeks must fight for all of us.**⁵²

out + Greece

Moving further down in the collocate list of the KW *Greece*, the analysis then focused also on the preposition *out*. The concordance of this item has revealed, compared to the previously-

⁵⁰ Markets tremble as Angela Merkel plays for time over Greece rescue deal, 26 April 2010

⁵¹ Don't leave Greece to face the speculators alone, 9 February 2010.

⁵² Greece must fight the neoliberal EU, 4 February 2010.

discussed collocates, only a small number of relevant evaluatively loaded examples (altogether 5 occurrences), all of which support in some way the so-far described observations, see for example (22):

(22) The EU has over \$1tn at its disposal and could easily **bail out Greece** with interest-free loans, and facilitate a real - not Jamaican-style, as is currently being discussed - debt restructuring, which would allow for counter-cyclical fiscal policy and growth. But the EU authorities have opted to **punish** Greece - for various reasons, including the creditors' own interests in **punishment**, their ideology, imaginary **fears** of inflation, and to **prevent** other countries from also demanding a "growth option".⁵³

This article by Mark Weisbrot represents another example of how the Troika programme for Greece had not reflected the interests of the Greek people. Austerity is described here as not only undeserved, but unnecessary *punishment* done on behalf of various external reasons (indicator 2). This extract also reflects the indicator 5 (fear-mongering): *imaginary fears*. Other interesting examples have been also found at the L2 and R5 positions of the collocate *out*: four hits with phrasal verbs carrying the semantics of negative external influence (*dish out*, *lock out*, *kick out*, *force out*). The phrase *dish out* (L2) occurs in the sentence: *From the start, Samaras has opposed the "growth through austerity" remedies dished out for Greece ...*⁵⁴, and *lock out* (R5) in *Greece was all but locked out of the financial markets last May*.⁵⁵ The other two occurrences are used in comments on the Grexit, as in example (23), where European leaders

(23) openly discussed the likelihood of **Greece quitting or being kicked out** of the euro, while also differing over whether Greece would also need to leave the EU.⁵⁶

as / by + Greece

Finally, the last two analysed grammatical collocates are the prepositions *as* and *by*. Both of these have further supported the so far-made observations but also revealed examples in support

⁵³ Where I part from Paul Krugman on Greece and the euro, 13 May 2011.

⁵⁴ Papandreou scraps Greek referendum as open warfare erupts in his party, 3 November 2011.

⁵⁵ Athens protests: Syntagma Square on frontline of European austerity protests, June 2011.

⁵⁶ European leaders and financial markets braced for Greece exit from euro, May 2012.

of the anti-Greek bias indicators that have not been discussed (or only marginally) so far, i.e. indicators 1, 5 and 4.

The preposition/conjunction *as* collocates with the KW *Greece* in 82 texts altogether 116 times. Its most relevant position for the present analysis is R1 with 28 hits among which there were two lines with evaluation. In the first case, in an opinion piece by Costas Douzinas, the success of the left-wing Greek party Syriza in the elections to the European Parliament is reflected. The then-hypothetical victory of the party, whose programme promised a renegotiation of the bailout terms, reduction of the Greek debt, and a protection of national sovereignty, is described as a chance to stop the increase in extreme right-wing ideologies, as well as to recover the trust in democracy. Douzinas uses for Greece the metaphor *guinea pig* (ex. 24).

(24) Europe used **Greece as a guinea pig** to test how late capitalism in crisis can be restructured with substantive reductions in wages, pensions, health, education and social services. What took the European and Greek elites by surprise was the determination of the guinea pig to transform itself from object to political subject.

This transformation was not unexpected.⁵⁷

The textual interaction between the metaphor of Greece as an animal used for testing and the reiteration of the particular steps involved in the saving policy (*reductions in wages, pensions, health, education and social services*) again shows Greece as a country subjected to negative external influence.

Another noteworthy position of *as* is on the left (L1), where a different type of a discourse structure occurs, see example (25) from an article which discusses the increasing number of families who, unable to provide a basic care, had been forced to put their kids to children's homes. In the first sentence of the excerpt, the expression *nation as proud as Greece* is used. The word *proud* can have both positive and negative connotations. In this case, the evaluation is clearly positive as the expression is used in connection with the notion of family. In other words, the provided view on the Greeks is not stereotypical in the sense that it is not negative (indicator 1). This excerpt provides another example indicating that the newspaper does not focus on describing strikes and protests only but is also concerned with the social impact of the crisis (see also ex.5, 14, 16) and the discourse includes positive representations of the Greek character (indicators 5 and 1).

⁵⁷ Syriza can be the future for Greece, and for Europe too, 3 June 2014.

(25) **In a nation as proud as Greece**, where **family always comes first**, the plight of the Gasparinatoses quickly hit a nerve. Soon shocked reporters were knocking at their door. But testimony from charities, doctors and unions would attest that they are not alone. As Greece prepares to endure a fifth consecutive year of recession, as the crisis extends its reach, as cuts take their toll, as poverty deepens and unemployment climbs, evidence is mounting that society is tearing at the seams.⁵⁸

The preposition *by* collocates with the KW *Greece* in 78 texts (altogether 101 hits). The strongest position of the collocate is on the right, R4 with 21 hits as in the following example (26).

(26) **Greece has been condemned by** European officialdom for its **huge** deficits. “No government or state can expect from us any special treatment,” comes the warning from Jean-Claude Trichet, president of the European Central Bank. **But** Trichet **failed to note** that there had long been a **double standard** - in effect two Maastricht treaties, one for the large and powerful countries, another for the smaller and **less powerful**. When France broke the EU edict not to let debt exceed 3% of GDP, there were strong words, but little else.⁵⁹

These comments occur in an article by Joseph Stiglitz, who criticizes the fact that the EU condemned Greece for its deficit, instead of proceeding to an immediate help through counter cyclical policies. The excerpt represents another case of a negative evaluation of the EU’s handling of the GDC that carries relevance to the indicator 3 (‘us versus them’). In this case, the opposite of the opinion that Greece should solve its problems alone is present in hinting at the existing *double standard* for *large and powerful countries* and for *smaller and less powerful*.

In the next example (27), the phrase *caused by everyone* occurs indicating a possible presence of a direct assignment of responsibility (indicator 4 - the morality tale of the crisis). However, as the wider co-text shows, the passive voice serves, in this case, the opposite purpose. The author of the article, the Greek journalist Kostas Vaxevanis states that:

(27) The crisis in **Greece** wasn’t **caused by everyone**. And **not everyone is paying**

⁵⁸ Greek economic crisis turns tragic for children abandoned by their families, 28 December 2011.

⁵⁹ A principled Europe would not leave Greece to bleed, 25 January 2010

for the **crisis**. The **exclusive, corrupt club** of power tries to save itself by pretending to make efforts to save Greece. In reality, it is exacerbating Greece's contradictions, while **Greece is teetering on the edge of a cliff**.⁶⁰

Vaxevanis was arrested in 2012 after publishing a list of rich Greeks who held bank accounts in Swiss banks. In this article, the journalist describes his story, as well as he discusses the issue of corruption in Greece in general. He claims, that the crisis was not caused by average Greeks, but by the rich elites who have not only not felt the impact of the crisis, but have also eased their conscience by charity investments. Vaxevanis uses expressive and direct lexis to support his claim, including visually powerful metaphors, e.g. *Greece is teetering on the edge of a cliff*.

Another example reflecting the indicator 4 can be found in a text (ex. 28) by an American professor of economy and political science, Barry Eichengreen, in which he presents his opinion on the steps taken by the Greek government in the early stages of the GDC. According to Eichengreen, the Greek debt should have been restructured at the very beginning. Instead, the Troika refused this step and the intimidated Greek government agreed with the austerity measures established as the condition for the first bailout. Eichengreen claims that mistakes had been made both on the side of the Greek politicians, but also by its international partners. The guilt is seen on both sides, not only with the Greek government, and, importantly, not with the Greek public. This set up makes this excerpt relevant in terms of the morality tale of the crisis. The example shows that the *Guardian* does not present Greece as the single guilty party in the context of the GDC. It also indicates that the newspaper places emphasis on the blamelessness of average Greeks (as examples 27 and 14).

(28) Past **mistakes**, committed **not just by Greece**, but **also by** its international partners, make a difficult short-term future unavoidable. It is important that other countries draw **the right lessons**. If they do, **Greece's brave, beleaguered citizens** can at least take comfort in knowing that many people elsewhere will be spared the same **unnecessary sacrifices**.⁶¹

To sum up, the above-presented observations show that the *Guardian's* view of Greece as a country in a debt crisis is grounded in one dominant discourse framework - namely, that of a country subjected to an external negative influence. As part of this framework, the newspaper

⁶⁰ Greece gave birth to democracy. Now it has been cast out by a powerful elite, 30 October 2012.

⁶¹ Greek debt crisis: lessons in hindsight, 14 June 2013.

presents a clearly negative view of the Troika GDC management. The body's programme as a whole is presented as a form of a sacrifice of the needs of the masses for the benefit of the creditors and economic interests. This construction rests primarily on the unfavourable evaluation of austerity, as one of the two principal components of the strategy applied in Greece. Austerity measures are constructed by the *Guardian* as steps that have had previously-unconceivable, innumerable negative effects on both Greek populace and the economy as such. The saving cuts have, in the newspaper's view, impoverished the masses as well as deepened the crisis through recession. Moreover, the revealed examples also indicate that both sides - Greece and the EU, are reflected by the *Guardian* with regard to 'the morality tale framework' of the crisis (i.e., with regard to the assignment of guilt for the crisis) (ex. 17, 18, 28). Importantly, on the Greek side, the emphasis is placed on the culpability of the elites (political, economic, media) and the blamelessness of the average Greeks (ex. 14, 27, 28) (further evidence for these claims will be provided in the analysis of the KWs *EU*, *Athens* and *Greeks*).

KW *EU*

EU as a KW occurs in 75 texts (31.65%) of *The Guardian GDC Corpus*. Table 8 shows 20 most salient collocates.

Word	Relation	Texts	Frequency
<i>the</i>	1402.83	72	400
<i>EU</i>	3933.96	75	360
<i>and</i>	378.12	61	128
<i>to</i>	228.14	57	107
<i>of</i>	155.02	51	90
<i>in</i>	170.26	45	80
<i>a</i>	80.66	37	56
<i>s</i>	121.27	32	47
<i>IMF</i>	279.33	32	46
<i>that</i>	86.72	33	44
<i>from</i>	118.88	31	35
<i>by</i>	88.45	31	34
<i>Greece</i>	68.59	25	33

<i>is</i>	38.19	21	28
<i>on</i>	50.20	22	27
<i>leaders</i>	170.30	17	26
<i>for</i>	41.54	24	26
<i>with</i>	53.77	19	26
<i>has</i>	38.30	16	21
<i>said</i>	40.98	15	19

Table 8: Top 19 collocates of the KW *EU* in *The Guardian GDC Corpus*.

(calculated with LL).

Just as with the KW *Greece*, the analysis was focused on the grammatical collocates. The collocates that did not upon initial examination point to any evaluative discourse relevant for the present analysis have been excluded from further analysis. The analysis focused on three most relevant collocates: *and*, *from*, *by*. Table 9 shows them in more detail with their most relevant collocate positions shaded.

Word	Freq.	Total left	Total right	L5	L4	L3	L2	L1	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5
<i>and</i>	128	47	81	10	8	10	10	9	36	19	10	6	10
<i>from</i>	35	30	5	-	2	1	22	5	-	2	2	-	1
<i>by</i>	34	26	8	2	5	4	11	4	-	2	2	2	2

Table 9: The analysed grammatical collocates of the KW *EU* and their detailed distribution.

The conjunction *and* is one of the strongest collocates of the KW *EU*, the items co-occur in 61 texts altogether 128 times. The most relevant position of *and* is R1 (36 hits), which indicates, obviously, the presence of a coordination. In 31 of the 36 hits, there is a coordination of elements; 5 cases involve a clause coordination. Of the 31 lines 23 contain the phrase: *the EU and the IMF*. This outcome is quite logical. Apart from the IMF, the Troika consists of two European bodies: the European Commission and the European Central Bank. As such, it is often referred to through a more familiar and universal denotation, the coordinate structure *the EU and the IMF*. In the analysis of this phrase, the left side of the concordance was examined at first. It has been found out that in 7 of the 23 hits there are similar discourse elements as have

been already discussed with the KW *Greece*, i.e. nouns and noun phrases related to the financial assistance provided by the Troika, e.g. *bailout from the EU and the IMF*, *rescue package sponsored by the EU and the IMF*, etc. 3 of the 7 hits did not display evaluative constructions. In the remaining 4 hits, the immediate co-text revealed the presence of nouns and noun phrases referring to the austerity measures - all negatively evaluated. The interaction between the two interrelated discourse elements, financial assistance and austerity, then determines, in these cases, the way *the EU and the IMF* are presented. The discursive construction of these institutions, and implicitly, of the decision group, the Troika, as a whole, is, as a result not based on a positive notion of an agent providing help (e.g. *\$130bn rescue package financed by the EU and the IMF*). The opposite is actually true. This can be seen, for example, in the following concordance lines (ex. 29 and 30), where the *EU and the IMF* are constructed as a source of an adverse, unfavourable influence, as the executor(s) of the negatively viewed GDC solution plan *that foresees Athens pushing ahead with painful austerity measures* (29)/ *that entails tough conditions ... in return for financial help* (30).

(29) The creation of a broad-based interim government representing Greece's entire political spectrum is essential to implementing a new bailout programme from the **EU and International Monetary Fund** that foresees Athens pushing ahead with **painful** austerity measures, officials in Brussels say.⁶²

(30) But despite the market turmoil and the anti-austerity mood reflected in the elections in Greece and France, finance ministers meeting in Brussels insisted there could be **no softening** of the **tough** conditions that Athens agreed to last year in return for a \$130bn rescue package financed **by the EU and the IMF**.⁶³

In two of these cases, the negative evaluative constructions are further reinforced through the presence of lexis emphasising the external nature of the negative influence - see ex. (31) and (32). In example (31) Greece is *forced to adopt excruciating reforms* and in example (32) it *bow[s] to relentless pressure*.

(31) As the country on the frontline of Europe's debt crisis, Greece has been **forced to adopt excruciating** reforms and spending cuts in return for rescue packages

⁶² Eurozone crisis: Greek PM George Papandreou to resign, 6 November 2011.

⁶³ European leaders and financial markets braced for Greece exit from euro, 15 May 2012.

sponsored by the EU and International Monetary Fund.⁶⁴

(32) Its economy teetering on the brink of bankruptcy, Greece, today **bowed to the relentless pressure** of global markets and officially requested a €45bn (£38bn) bailout package from the EU and International Monetary Fund.⁶⁵

There is one more line (ex. 33) with the same type of evaluative construction. In this case, however, the immediate co-text of the phrase *the EU and IMF* involves only the concept of austerity (there is no interaction between financial assistance - austerity measures). The emphasis on the external nature of the negative influence is here manifested by the phrasal verb *mete out*⁶⁶:

(33) In a sign of the looming friction Antonis Samaras, the new Democrat leader who has **fiercely opposed** the fiscal remedies **meted out to** Greece by the EU and IMF, insisted in a national address that the government was a temporary administration that would lead the country to elections.⁶⁷

In the remaining part of concordance (i.e. among the lines that do not have nouns and noun phrases referring to “the financial assistance” or “the austerity measures”) other cases supporting the above-described observations have been found (altogether 3 hits). Next, the focus of the analysis turned to the right side of the *EU and* collocation. Two lines with negative evaluative construction have been noted, see example (34), where the austerity is *dictated* by the *EU and IMF* while ordinary Greeks are *without a roof over their heads*.

(34) A recession that began with the global financial downturn in 2008 but which has **worsened dramatically** as a result of EU and IMF-dictated austerity in the past two years, has left 20,000 Greeks **without a roof over their heads**, according to social workers and NGOs.⁶⁸

The following excerpt (ex. 35) comes from an article reacting on the first massive union protests held in Athens in May 2010. It was written by Janis Emmanouilidis, the senior policy analyst

⁶⁴ Leftwing Syriza party triumphs in European elections in Greece, 26 May 2014.

⁶⁵ Greece activates €45bn EU/IMF loans, 23 April 2010.

⁶⁶ **mete out** - “to give or order a punishment or make someone receive cruel or unfair treatment,” the *Cambridge Dictionary* online, accessed June, 27, 2016, <http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/mete-sth-out>.

⁶⁷ Lucas Papademos sworn in as Greece’s prime minister, 11 November 2011.

⁶⁸ Greek homeless shelters take in casualties of debt crisis, 10 February 2012.

at the European Policy Centre in Brussels.

(35) A **major outbreak of social unrest** in Greece or elsewhere **could affect** the wider EU public in various and **unforeseeable** ways. Some “friends of Greece” will decide to show active, through peaceful, solidarity with their European compatriots. Others might follow the Greek example and go into the streets, not out of solidarity but out of **frustration** with conditions in their home country. In the worst case, images of **violent protests** in one EU country might incite others to violence. Some will hold the EU and the measures “**imposed by Brussels**” responsible for the outbreaks of social unrest. In such a situation, the crisis will have triggered a social rather than an economic domino effect, which is no less worrisome.⁶⁹

Emmanouilidis discusses the possible dangers of spreading of the Greek unrest into other European countries, this can be seen as a form of a fear-mongering (indicator 5). The coordination here consists of the *EU and the measures*. The quotation marks used with the phrase *imposed by Brussels* which postmodifies the *measures* could be, at the first sight, perceived as a sign of a biased perspective, given the fact that the author works for an institution that represents an independent think tank, yet, it is, at the same time, based in Brussels, i.e. it is close to the immediate influence of the EU officials. The broader co-text, however, shows that this is not the case. The later part of the article presents the following statement (ex. 36):

(36) Decision makers and commentators need to take into account not only the economic but also the social and political **consequences** of certain policy responses or the transnational **costs of not taking swift and decisive decisions**. If Europeans disregard Immanuel Kant's categorical imperative - i.e., **don't do to others what you don't want others to do to you** - they should not be astonished if the European Union comes to a standstill or even **implodes**.⁷⁰

These lines clearly show that Emmanouilidis does not downplay, but criticizes the negative impact of Brussels GDC programme. The particular excerpt can be seen as an appeal to solidarity on the side of the EU authorities, i.e. it is relevant in terms of the ‘us versus them mentality indicator’ of anti-Greek bias (indicator 3, also ex. 20, 26).

⁶⁹ Greece: EU must prevent social domino effect, 3 May 2010.

⁷⁰ Greece: EU must prevent social domino effect, 3 May 2010.

The collocates *from* and *by* then further confirmed the observations already presented. Preposition *from* collocates with the KW *EU* in 31 texts altogether 35 times; its strongest position is L2 making up the pattern *from the EU* (22 hits). In 14 cases out of the 22 hits there are nouns and noun phrases on the left side related to the Troika GDC management referring both to the financial assistance and austerity measures in the immediate context. 5 of these 14 hits were already found in the analysis of *the EU and* concordance. In 3 of the remaining 9 hits, the nouns/noun phrases referring to austerity measures are negatively evaluated, which, as in the cases discussed previously, results in the overall negative evaluation of the EU. See example (37), where Greece is constructed as an involuntary receiver of *rescue funds from the EU*:

(37) Greece's economic **plight** has been **exacerbated** by the **barrage** of deficit-reducing austerity measures it has been **forced to** take in return for rescue funds **from the EU**, European Central Bank and International Monetary Fund.⁷¹

Among the rest of the collocates at the left side of the phrase *from the EU* (i.e. the collocates that are not explicitly related to the Troika GDC management - i.e. 8 of the 22 hits), other examples confirming these observations were found (3 hits). As for the preposition *by* - this item collocates with the KW *EU* in 31 texts altogether 34 times; its most relevant position in this collocation is L2 making up the pattern *by the EU* (11 occurrences). The concordance of this phrase revealed more or less the same situation as with the collocates *and* and *from*. Among the 11 hits at L2 there were 3 cases that had been already observed as part of *the EU and* concordance analysis. The remaining concordance revealed 2 lines with negative evaluative construction of the EU/Troika. See example (38) that comes from an article describing the increasingly tense atmosphere at Athen's Syntagma Square in June 2011 (during the negotiations on the second major wave of austerity measures). Again, Greece and EU are constructed in an opposition. Greece as a *plagued* country and the EU as an agent that *prescribed* a negatively evaluated *medicine* to heal it (note again the metaphor of illness and medicine as in ex. 6). The first clause of the sentence deserves attention as it shows that the *Guardian* is not blind to the intrastate problems existing in Greece (morality tale - indicator 4, viz. ex. 17, 18, 28).

(38) In a country **plagued by** a shadow economy that accounts for almost 30% of GDP, the **medicine prescribed by the EU**, IMF and ECB in exchange for €110bn

⁷¹ Germany signs investment deal to boost Greek economy, 9 October 2011.

of emergency loans last May, has resulted in a **deeper than expected** recession with further cost-cutting measures now seen as crucial if Greece is not only to rein in its debt but make it sustainable.⁷²

Overall, the analysis of the KW *EU* has shown that the EU is, together with the IMF, constructed in the *Guardian* discourse as an executor of negatively evaluated crisis management and as such as a source of negative external influence. The EU institutions mentioned in the analysed examples all stand in the discourse for the three-member decision group in charge of the GDC management. On the basis of the just-presented observations, it can be, therefore, said that the *Guardian* discourse both directly and implicitly constructs the Troika as an external body exerting negative influence on Greece.

KW IMF

IMF as a KW occurs in 44 texts (18.57%) of *The Guardian GDC Corpus*. Table 10 shows 20 most salient collocates.

Word	Relation	Texts	Total
<i>the</i>	1475.49	43	353
<i>IMF</i>	2749.90	44	244
<i>and</i>	263.85	39	91
<i>to</i>	123.94	32	67
<i>of</i>	93.97	31	60
<i>in</i>	81.83	28	47
<i>EU</i>	215.24	24	38
<i>that</i>	82.30	24	37
<i>s</i>	78.45	18	32
<i>is</i>	60.18	20	30
<i>a</i>	24.32	17	28
<i>for</i>	59.50	20	27
<i>by</i>	60.96	16	24
<i>said</i>	70.87	12	23
<i>European</i>	92.75	17	22
<i>Greece</i>	35.20	18	20

⁷² Greek debt crisis deepens, 14 June 2011.

<i>from</i>	49.18	15	18
<i>with</i>	31.96	15	17
<i>has</i>	30.37	13	16
<i>be</i>	29.90	14	15

Table 10: Top 19 collocates of the KW *IMF* in *The Guardian GDC Corpus*

(calculated with LL).

As can be seen from Table 10, the collocates of this KW are very similar to those of the KW *EU*. Also, in this case, the same collocates: *and*, *by* and *from*, proved to be the most relevant sources of information for the present study. Table 11 shows their detailed distribution in the span over which the collocates were calculated with the most relevant position shaded.

Word	Freq.	Total left	Total right	L5	L4	L3	L2	L1	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5
<i>and</i>	91	43	48	6	6	2	18	11	23	5	8	10	2
<i>by</i>	24	17	7	1	8	1	6	1	-	1	-	4	2
<i>from</i>	18	18	0	7	-	4	1	6	-	-	-	-	-

Table 11: The analysed grammatical collocates of the KW *IMF* and their detailed distribution.

The conjunction *and* collocates with the KW *IMF* in 39 texts altogether 91 times and its most relevant position is R1 (23 hits) which indicates the presence of coordination. In 21 of the 23 cases, the coordination is at the level of elements, not clauses. 18 of the 21 hits make up phrases in which the second element of the coordination is taken by one of the following items: the acronym *EU*, a denotation of either the European Commission or the European Central Bank, or by an expression that refers to other participants, such as the creditor states (e.g. *eurozone members*). Thus, the analysis deals with a reversed pattern of the already-discussed coordinate phrase *the EU and the IMF*.

The left side of the collocation *IMF and* is less compact, compared to the *EU and* concordance. There are often (in 6 of the 18 hits) nouns and noun phrases referring to one of the Troika's institutions. In these cases, the IMF stands as the middle element of three-element structures, e.g. *The EU, the IMF, and the European commission*. In 3 occurrences there are, at the L side, noun phrases referring to the financial assistance provided by the Troika, and, in 2

cases, there are, noun phrases referring to the austerity measures. Among the just-mentioned instances, 3 hits with similar discourse patterns to those delineated with the KW *EU* were found. See example (39):

(39) Faced with strong public hostility and possible threats to the longevity of his government, Papandreou is **squeezed between** intense opposition at home and the **pressure of the Germans, the IMF, and the other Europeans**.⁷³

In the remaining 7 lines of the concordance *the IMF and* (18 hits), various abstract nouns and verbs occur at the left side. In 5 cases, these higher-level collocates express the notion of “outsideness” - i.e. there is an emphasis on the external nature of the negative influence. In particular, there are 3 occurrences with the abstract noun *diktat*, which occurs twice in plural and once in singular. See example (40):

(40) Public spending cuts and tax increases during a deep depression reduce demand, increase unemployment and halt growth. The slowdown reduces tax revenues and increases spending on unemployment and other benefits. Fiscal targets are missed and new austerity is demanded to plug the ever-increasing gap. The **austerity measures are not** about **fiscal discipline** but about **turning Greece into a weak country under foreign diktat. If the IMF and government economists** were first-year students they would have failed their exams.⁷⁴

As discussed earlier, the verb *impose* seems to be salient in the discourse (viz. examples 14, 35), see ex. (41):

(41) George Papandreou’s gesture indicates the **febrile** nature of Greek politics in the wake of the austerity and restructuring measures **imposed upon** the country by **the IMF and the EU** in return for a €110bn (£95bn) loan.⁷⁵

The analysis of the collocates *by* and *from* has, just as in the case of the KW *EU*, only further confirmed the observations made so far.

To sum up, the analysis of the KWs *EU* and *IMF* has provided more detail on the discourse facets delineated through the examination of the topmost key item of the *Guardian*

⁷³ EU debt crisis: Greece granted €110bn aid to avert meltdown, 2 May 2010.

⁷⁴ Greece is ripe for radical change, 8 November 2012.

⁷⁵ Greece has told Papandreou he has no mandate, 8 November 2010.

corpus: the KW *Greece*. Through the study of these two closely-related KWs, another perspective has been added. It has been shown how the negative view of the Troika GDC management is projected into the discursive construction of the individual institutions involved in these proceedings, as well as, implicitly, into the presentation of the decision group as the whole. The Troika is clearly constructed in the *Guardian* discourse as a source of harmful external influence.

The observations gathered from the analysis of these two KWs have further implications. The type of evaluative patterns found indicate that the EU and the IMF are constructed negatively solely in connection with the GDC management. The absence of other evaluative frameworks which would indicate presence of some of the negative (or even cliché, stereotypical) views of the EU testifies to the fact that the *Guardian* is critical of the EU in certain respects only, yet, on the whole, it is not Eurosceptic as it supports the concept of European solidarity (see examples 20, 26, 35 and 36).

KW *Athens*

Athens as a KW occurs in 92 texts (38.82%) of *The Guardian GDC Corpus*. The examination of the KW *Athens* started with a cluster analysis, where the most frequent 4-word clusters with this KW are: *the streets of Athens* (occurring 7 times), *on the streets of* (4 times), *the centre of Athens* (3x) and *at Athens Panteion University* (3x). Being aware of the overall scale of attention that had been, during the main years of the GDC, paid to the unrest in Greek cities by international media, one might possibly, at first, tend to associate these results with the presence of the protests. The so-far presented observations have, however, provided evidence against this (see examples 5, 14, 16 and 26). - It has been shown that the *Guardian* when referring to the Greek capital does not cover the street uprisings only. In keeping up with its left-leaning orientation, as well as its distinctive concern with social issues, the newspaper also pays attention to other facets of the GDC, namely, to the negative impact the crisis has had on the lives of Greeks.

The so-far presented survey of the KWs *Greece*, *EU* and *IMF* has provided several examples indicating that *Athens* play a significant role in the *Guardian* GDC discourse. Therefore, it is appropriate to look at the KW *Athens* in more detail. The aim here was to determine the extent to which the *Guardian* focuses on the strikes and protests, as well as how much it attends to the social impact of the crisis. Furthermore, the analysis also targeted the

indicator 5, i.e. presence/absence of fearmongering. In particular, two features of a fear-based discourse were taken into account: i) the use of sensational language and ii) a fearmongering with regard to future. The first point is characterised by the presence of emotive language that includes dramatic choices of words over more neutral formulations, exaggerations, etc. The future-oriented fear-mongering is then, obviously, context specific. In the ‘anti-Greek bias’, it is characterized by expressed concern about delays in the processing of reforms (austerity measures), “reluctance [of Greeks] to pay for bailouts,” as well as by the more general “dread of an impending deeper crisis” (Pavlakis 2013: 28). The analysis, as in the previous cases, relies on the analysis of collocations. Table 12 shows 30 most salient collocates of the KW *Athens*.

Word	Relation	Texts	Word	Relation	Texts
<i>the</i>	416.79	84	<i>by</i>	37.87	22
<i>in</i>	757.03	85	<i>at</i>	54.02	22
<i>to</i>	310.63	68	<i>from</i>	50.07	21
<i>of</i>	231.74	71	<i>its</i>	39.78	17
<i>and</i>	160.31	54	<i>central</i>	97.26	15
<i>a</i>	121.04	47	<i>will</i>	31.25	15
<i>that</i>	118.14	39	<i>have</i>	21.90	14
<i>on</i>	109.38	38	<i>an</i>	32.90	14
<i>for</i>	66.13	31	<i>were</i>	44.97	15
<i>s</i>	64.05	29	<i>over</i>	47.23	13
<i>as</i>	82.96	27	<i>be</i>	16.57	13
<i>is</i>	41.16	31	<i>this</i>	22.76	12
<i>has</i>	68.43	27	<i>government</i>	28.24	11
<i>with</i>	57.08	28	<i>last</i>	42.66	13
<i>was</i>	51.18	23			

Table 12: Top 30 collocates of the KW *Athens* in *The Guardian GDC Corpus*

(calculated with LL).

Again, a number of grammatical collocates of this KW has been excluded from a further analysis, as their concordances did not provide any relevant information for the present study. The analysis below focuses on the preposition *of*, for details on its distribution see Table 13.

Word	Freq.	Total left	Total right	L5	L4	L3	L2	L1	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5
<i>of</i>	124	79	45	11	15	5	12	36	-	6	7	13	19

Table 13: The analysed collocate of the KW *Athens* and its detailed distribution.

The preposition *of* collocates with the KW *Athens* in 71 texts altogether 124 times. Its most relevant position is just before the node word, i.e. the L1 position (with 36 hits) making up the pattern *of Athens*. The initial survey of this phrase revealed that the concordance involves more instances of the description of the strikes and protests (10 hits). At the same time, however, it showed that the topics related to the social impact of the crisis are present as well (6 occurrences). In the closer analysis, I focused on the description of strikes and protests at first. The co-text study showed that the excerpts with this thematic grounding can be broadly divided into following three categories:

i) There are 2 cases that do not show any prominent signs of sensational language, neither do they involve any type of future-oriented fearmongering. One of these texts is even explicitly supportive of the protests - namely, the protests organized by the Greek ‘indignados’ in spring 2011. This text also explicitly criticizes the sensationalism occurring in media’s description of the situation in Athens, see example (42).

(42) **Domestic and foreign media avidly reported** the confrontations between youths and the riot police that followed major demonstrations and left a thick cloud of teargas hanging over Athens. Led by the parties of the left and some unions, these protests outshone the anti-austerity demonstrations in the rest of Europe. But the **relentless scare campaign** by establishment media, experts and elite intellectuals spread **fear and guilt** to the majority of the population and soon succeeded in limiting resistance. Three weeks ago, things changed. A motley multitude of indignant men and women of all ideologies, ages, occupations, including the many unemployed, began occupying Syntagma - the central square ***of Athens*** opposite parliament; the area around White Tower in Thessaloniki; and public spaces in other major cities. The daily occupations and rallies, sometimes involving more than 100,000 people, have been **peaceful**, with the police observing from a distance.⁷⁶

ii) Then, there is the most numerous group (6 hits), where the examples involve both - some

⁷⁶ In Greece, we see democracy in action, 15 June 2011.

degree of sensational language and future-oriented fearmongering. In all of these cases, however, there are other discourse elements that counterweigh these anti-Greek bias indicators. The articles all describe vividly the strikes and protests and the tense atmosphere in the streets. At the same time each of them also provides further detailed context of the situation. The texts do not only identify the particular measures the protesters are fighting against, but they also describe in detail who and how is negatively affected by these steps. They also always distinguish between the so-called *young hooded* leftwing and anarchist protesters, who were mainly responsible for the outburst of violence during the protests and other protesters (mainly union workers). The articles published in the latter period of the GDC, i.e. during ‘the indignados’ protests in 2011 and afterwards, often point to a ‘new’ phenomenon - the presence of large masses of average Greeks who had never been to protests before and who attended these events with no violent tendencies.

All of this testifies to the fact that the *Guardian* does not provide any generalized portrayal of Greeks as violent radicalized protesters. The newspaper’s description of the situation in the country reflects on people who actually sought violence, as well as on those Greeks who were brought to the street protests by the very conditions they had to face as a result of the crisis and the steps taken in its solution. The future-oriented fear mongering involves in these cases two issues. Firstly, some concern is expressed with regard to the impact of the agreed programme on the future development of the crisis (mainly in the articles published in spring 2010). Secondly, fearmongering occurs in relation to the possible change of the protests into an uncontrollable situation (especially in June 2011 and February 2012 when Greeks, who had already fully experienced the negative effects of austerity, were protesting against new waves of measures). In the first case, the future-oriented fearmongering obviously does not contribute to the anti-Greek bias; it is not the type of fearmongering that would promote anti-Greek sentiment. In the second case, the overall impression depends on the broader co-text. However, given the *Guardian*’s focus on the description of the negative impact of the taken measures, it is clear that this type of fearmongering cannot be seen as part of the anti-Greek bias either, see example (43).

(43) Athens **erupted into violence** as traditional May Day festivities turned into a **bitter protest** against **draconian** austerity measures aimed at tackling Europe’s **worst** debt crisis in decades. For the tens of thousands of demonstrators who took to the streets in rallies that quickly descended into clashes with riot police, the show of force was just the beginning - **a prelude of the storm** that will **rock** Greece if its Socialist government “caves in” to the dictates of the IMF and enforces policies that

have been likened to “the coming of **Armageddon**”. To make the point, scores of stone-throwing youths chanted “people don’t bow down, it’s time again for revolution” as a petrol bomb set fire to a police officer in the heart **of Athens**. “They say the only way of salvaging our economy is more austerity, but that’s a total lie,” said Nicolaos Danizis, a 60-year-old shipyard worker participating in a Communist-led demonstration outside parliament. “These latest measures have been **cooked up by outsiders** and are totally outrageous. They are aimed not at the rich but at the poor. What we are saying here today is that they will pass only over our dead bodies.”⁷⁷

In this article from 2 May 2010 Helena Smith, describes one of the first protests reacting to the announcement of the bailout programme. As can be seen in the excerpt, the author does not avoid emotive language (see bolded). Also, a future-oriented fearmongering, concerning the development of the unrest in the streets of Athens, can be spotted in the quoted paragraph (2nd sentence). In spite of these features, however, this article cannot be seen as an example of the ‘anti-Greek bias discourse’. There are number of reasons for this claim. Firstly, Smith does not present the protesters as a unified mass. She distinguishes between different attendees (*stone-throwing youths, a 60-year-old shipyard worker participating in a Communist-led demonstration*). Moreover in the latter parts of the article (not quoted), Smith gives space also to other voices. She quotes, for example, a leading Greek political commentator, Takis Michas, or Maria Koumoundourou, a retired bank employee. Both of these protests attendees express their alarm at and frustration about the unjustness of the situation (e.g. *The IMF deals with injustice. It never targets the rich, who have deposits abroad and luxury cars and are buying properties in London. It always targets the poor;*” said Maria Koumoundourou). The description of the protesters’ rage is then provided with a detailed background of the social consequences of the EU rescue plan. This detailed delineation of the negative effects of austerity are followed by the statement in which Smith seeks to convey in her own words, the feelings of many Greeks: *For many, the intervention of the IMF, in the wake of three austerity packages already announced this year, has seen Greek humiliation mutate into unbridled bitterness and fury*. In general then, it can be said that a discourse structure emerges which - in spite of the presence of sensational language and future-oriented fearmongering - cannot be seen as an example of a biased anti-Greek narrative. On the contrary, the anti-Greek sentiments are deterred in this case as the article puts the description of the unrest into a broader context.

⁷⁷ Greece erupts in violent protest as citizens face a future of harsh austerity, 2 May 2010.

iii) Finally, there are also 2 occurrences coming from articles which involve both sensationalism and future-oriented fearmongering and which, at the same time, do not provide any broader context, see example (44).

(44) Today's clashes broke out during a demonstration by about 3,000 people, mostly secondary school pupils, through the centre **of Athens**. Several dozen youths towards the back of the march **attacked riot police** with rocks, firebombs and firecrackers, **smashing** some of the bus stops, telephone booths and shopfronts **not damaged in yesterday's demonstration**. Protesters **injured a passerby** who attempted to intervene, **beating him unconscious**.⁷⁸

A look at the date of publishing tells that both texts were written at the early stage of the GDC (in December 2009), i.e. they deal with the very first protests organized at the one-year anniversary of the death of a 15-year-old student who was shot dead in a row with the police on 6th December 2008. As the excerpt reveals, the attending protesters were mostly enraged youngsters. With regard to the particular background, i.e. the stage of the GDC and the type of protests the articles describe, these cases cannot be seen as representative of the *Guardian's* reporting on of the unrests in Athens.

Then I turned to the occurrences involving the 'social impact' issue (6 hits). I found out that one of the 6 lines has already occurred in the analysis of the KW *Greece* (see example 26). Other two occurrences come from the same article - a text which deals with the increased use of shisha, the so-called "cocaine of the poor," in Greek cities.⁷⁹ In all of the 6 cases, the use of emotive lexis can be spotted. At the same time, however, relative to the nature of the issues the texts deal with, they are not sensational in a shallow way. The future-oriented fearmongering is, quite unsurprisingly, present as well. A strong concern is being expressed with regard to the possible outbreak of a humanitarian crisis and a total disintegration of the Greek society. Obviously, this aspect does not represent a sign of anti-Greek bias either as it simply draws attention to the seriousness of the situation, see example (45).

(45) More than 10,000 people have been **decanted on** to the streets **of Athens**, home to the vast majority of Greece's 11 million population. The government has just announced emergency aid for the destitute and the Greek Orthodox Church has revealed it is feeding 250,000 people a day.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Greek riots continue into second day, 7 December 2009.

⁷⁹ Greek addicts turn to deadly shisha drug as economic crisis deepens, 16 May 2013

⁸⁰ Greek homeless shelters take in casualties of debt crisis, 10 February 2012.

This article deals with the rapid rise of homelessness and in particular it focuses on one of the main shelters in Athens: the social centre Klimaka. As can be seen in the excerpt, the text does not employ neutral language (e.g. *decanted on*⁸¹). The agitated tone is perceptible at several places in the article - e.g. in the following sentence, where the sense of urgency is produced through emotive language as well as the use of particular grammatical structures (participle) (ex. 46):

(46) A new underclass has emerged in Greece as **the debt-stricken country**, **wrestling** with **the spectre of bankruptcy** and the demands of international creditors, **grapples** with its **worst crisis in modern times** .

The emphasis on the gravity of the situation is then further intensified through the future-oriented fearmongering. Smith quotes several sources speaking of the danger of explosion of humanitarian crisis. For example, she mentions that (ex. 47):

(47) The prospect of more cost-cutting reforms - required, say creditors, to avoid a default in March when the country has to repay €14.5bn in maturing bonds - recently prompted Greece's spiritual leader, Archbishop Ieronymos, to warn of a **"social explosion"**.

Importantly, also, as can be seen in ex. 46, the article points to the scale of the social impact of the GDC - namely, to the fact that it hit the middle classes, people who did not get to the streets as a result of social, but solely economic troubles. There is, for example, a quote by one of the Greeks who took shelter at the Klimaka centre. The 55-year-old plasterer says (ex. 48):

(48) **"Suddenly I was fired without any compensation** from the company **I was working at**. Two months later I couldn't even afford my rent," he sighed. "All my savings had gone on paying medical bills for my late wife."

By presenting the story of a working Greek who lost his job and became homeless from day to day, the *Guardian*, indeed, deters the promotion of anti-Greek bias (it goes against the view of lazy Greeks who are now experiencing the effects of their past misdeeds). This aspect plays an

⁸¹ **decant** - "to move someone from one place to another", the *Macmillan Dictionary* online, accessed July, 3, 2016, <http://www.macmillandictionary.com/dictionary/british/decant>.

important role in all of the cases with the ‘social impact of the crisis context’. In the just-presented article, Smith even provides a positive view on the Greeks, as she describes the wave of solidarity symbolized by the brimming storeroom at the Klimaka centre. The reporter speaks with one of the donors - a man who, according to the description, counts amount the Greek rich (i.e., the class that has, according to many, contributed the most and, at the same time, has been affected the least by the crisis). Still, the quote reveals that this particular speaker is, unlike many of the rich Greeks living in the ivory towers, well aware of the real scale of the conditions average Greeks have had to face. See example (49) which involves criticism of the Troika GDC management, criticism of austerity measures (indicator 2 - austerity measures as deserved punishment).

(49) "The troika [debt inspectors from the EU/IMF and ECB] come and go," said Spyros Grigoratos, one do-gooder emerging from his BMW with sleeping bags and jackets for the refuge. "They **fiddle with numbers** and **don't know or care about the real situation** on the ground. The real answer is not more austerity. That way lies chaos."

Other cases linking i) the strikes and protests and ii) the social impact of the crisis have been also found in the concordance of the grammatical collocate *over* (i)2 hits, ii) 1 hit - all confirmed the above-presented observations). The analysis then moved to the strongest lexical collocates: *central*, *outside*, *university*, *protesters*, *centre* and *streets*. Of these six collocates, only three were relevant for the present analysis: *central*, *outside* and *protesters*. Since all of these cases further confirm the earlier observations and thus will not be discussed here in detail.

In general, the analysed collocations of the KW *Athens* have revealed several cases referring to descriptions of the strikes and protests and several other cases concerning the social impact of the GDC. Though the reporting of the street uprisings dominates in the *Guardian* discourse describing the situation in Athens, the analysis has also shown that the issue of the negative social impact of the crisis on Greek society has been, by no means, neglected by the newspaper. This fact is attested to by one of the most prolific *Guardian* contributors on the GDC, Costas Douzinas, who notes: *The deprivations and degradations suffered daily by ordinary Greeks over the past few years have been well documented in this paper*.⁸² The close study of the concordance lines has shown the *Guardian* reporting about strikes and protests in the Greek capital does not contribute to the formation of anti-Greek bias. The newspaper always

⁸² Syriza can be the future for Greece, and for Europe too, 3 June 2014.

aims to explain what type of measures the Greek government agreed to and who/in what way is being affected the most - i.e. it provides the context of the situation the protesters are experiencing. Moreover, the newspaper does not present a generalized portrayal of the attendees at these events - it distinguishes between violent protesters and the people who came to express their opinion peacefully.

The articles dealing with the social impact of the GDC give a detailed and authentic account of the particular issue they focus on. These text are all characterized by a more or less agitated tone, use of strong, emotive words as well as by future oriented fearmongering concerning the possibility of outbreak of humanitarian crisis. Both of these features are, however, part of an effort to draw attention to the seriousness of the situation in Greece - i.e. they do not contribute to formation of anti-Greek bias either.

KW *Greeks*

Greeks as a KW occurs in 52 texts (21.54%) of *The Guardian GDC Corpus*. Table 14 shows 20 most salient collocates of *Greeks*.

Word	Relation	Texts	Frequency
<i>Greeks</i>	2377.07	52	239
<i>the</i>	324.74	48	182
<i>of</i>	151.70	43	85
<i>to</i>	137.81	40	79
<i>and</i>	60.50	32	47
<i>a</i>	50.21	26	43
<i>that</i>	82.35	33	41
<i>in</i>	47.28	31	41
<i>have</i>	102.65	28	35
<i>for</i>	79.40	25	35
<i>are</i>	103.15	21	33
<i>their</i>	103.46	19	27
<i>with</i>	54.02	18	25
<i>is</i>	24.99	19	22
<i>they</i>	45.44	15	18
<i>by</i>	29.69	13	18
<i>on</i>	21.41	14	17

<i>s</i>	15.14	13	16
<i>as</i>	22.34	12	15
<i>more</i>	32.79	9	13

Table 14: Top 20 collocates of the KW *Greeks* in *The Guardian GDC Corpus*

(calculated with LL).

With this KW, I focused on two grammatical collocates providing relevant data. Namely, it was the preposition *of* and the plural form of the verb BE: *are*. Table 15 shows their detailed distribution.

Word	Freq.	Total left	Total right	L5	L4	L3	L2	L1	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5
<i>of</i>	85	58	27	2	6	8	16	26	-	2	6	9	10
<i>are</i>	33	11	22	1	3	2	3	2	14	2	2	3	1

Table 15: The analysed collocates of the KW *Greeks* and their detailed distribution.

Preposition *of* collocates with the KW *Greeks* in 43 texts altogether 85 times with most relevant position at L1 (26 hits) making up the pattern *of Greeks*. In the concordance of this phrase, 5 lines concerning the strikes and protests have been found. These cases were subjected to a closer analysis. The aim was to provide a further detail to the previous observations. I wanted to establish whether, indeed, there are not any instances of the *Guardian* constructing Greeks as violent protesters. Three of the 5 hits have revealed similar discourse patterns to those described above in connection with the KW *Athens*. Descriptions of the protesting Greeks are, in these cases, put into broader context. In two cases, the articles draw attention to the fact that many of the attendees at the protests were ordinary people, who had come to the public gatherings to make their voice heard, not to fight, see example (50).

(50) Greece got rid of its military dictators in July 1974. But almost four decades later, as the debt-stricken country endures a crisis that some might say is almost **as bad as the long dark night** of their rule, it is still impossible to protest in the cradle of democracy. When tens of thousands **of Greeks tried to demonstrate peacefully** in front of the large sandstone parliament building on Sunday night, they were met almost immediately with volleys of teargas. The toxic fumes were the authorities'

answer not only to the popular opposition unleashed by the prospect of yet more austerity but the **fear** that underpins it. For **angst**, like **uncertainty**, is now **haunting** Greece. What followed was textbook **chaos**: a familiar mix of **young punks with no relation to ordinary protesters** going on the rampage, setting fire to banks, stores and cafes.⁸³

This article from February 2012 portrays one of the largest protests in the history of the GDC unrests that was triggered by the announcement of the third wave of austerity measures. As can be seen, the text clearly distinguishes between riotous *young punks* and *ordinary protesters*. It stresses that the latter group was met with aggressive reaction from the police, even though it demonstrated peacefully. The description of the events is followed by a detailed delineation of the bad condition the country was in after three consecutive years of the crisis. The account points to the attendance of *members of the well-dressed, well-shod middle class* at the protests. The presence of these people is viewed as a telling indicator of the seriousness of the situation in Greece. The author of the article notes (ex. 51):

(51) As recession stretches into a fifth straight year, the **spectre** of yet more wage, pension and job cuts - the price of €130bn in further aid from foreign lenders – has not just **startled Greeks** but **united them in rage**. Tellingly, more **members of the well-dressed, well-shod middle class rushed to participate** in Sunday's protests than ever before. Thronging the area around Syntagma square, surgical masks often hanging about their necks, **their presence** was **the strongest sign** yet that the **savage measures** exacted in exchange for aid **have begun to affect people** who not that long ago **might have considered themselves 'well-established'**.

Considering this example and many other, it can be claimed that the *Guardian* indeed does not present a generalized portrayal of Greeks as violent, anarchic protesters. Greeks are not seen in a simplified way as a unified mass. The newspaper seeks to show the scale of GDC by bringing in various segments of society. The concordance of the phrase *of Greeks* also contained 2 hits concerning the social impact of the crisis.

Then, there are also 6 concordance lines which display other - so far not discussed facet of the *Guardian* discourse on the situation in Greece, i.e. reference to the negative impact of the GDC on beliefs and attitudes of Greeks as a nation. This aspect is discussed in association with three issues:

⁸³ Greece lies bankrupt, humiliated and ablaze: is cradle of democracy finished?, 13 February 2012.

i) Firstly, 2 of the 6 hits come from articles which point to a radical change in the perception of the EU in Greece, see example (52).

(52) A growing number **of Greeks** and other Europeans are now tired. They do not see **any light at the end of the tunnel**. Positive political statements about the end of the crisis mean very little to them. In general, the **EU has disappointed the Greeks**. Instead of making decisions, the EU postponed them. There was a lot of talk, endless meetings in Brussels; kicking the can down the road every time only **prolonged the pain**. This created **anger, discontent and impatience**. Europe is no longer the club of the elite (De Gaulle and Adenauer, Mitterrand and Kohl) and these elections made it clear. Last month's vote reflects this change. The bottom line is that the euro crisis game was played out in Greece, and the **European vision has been lost** in Brussels.⁸⁴

This article reacts to the results of the 2014 EU Parliamentary elections, in which the far left- and right parties celebrated the biggest success and the pro-European parties lost considerably. These results signalled, according to the article, a turn in the Greek attitude towards the EU. Paradoxically, the text notes, Greeks had counted, prior to the crisis, to one of the least Eurosceptic nations. Compared to other EU countries, they have adopted the euro quite enthusiastically. Moreover, the participation of the EU in the crisis solution was, initially, seen positively as well.

ii) Secondly, there are also three concordance lines drawing attention to another aspect of the negative impact of the GDC on beliefs and attitudes of Greeks as a nation - namely, to the increasing feeling of powerlessness among Greeks, in particular, the feeling that their lives are in the hands of the government which is under command of an outside power, see example (53).

(53) Growing numbers **of Greeks** feel they have **no democratic say** over any of the policies that have changed their lives. Greece may be paying for years of profligacy but the coffins of those who could no longer take the pain of being unable to pay extra bills and higher taxes on wages that had also decreased sharply were also lining up.⁸⁵

This article deals with the reactions of the Greek public on the awarding of the 2012 Nobel Peace Prize to the EU. The Greeks quoted in the text express their alarm at this situation. Apart from the description of the living conditions in the country, the article also points to another

⁸⁴ Bruised and confused: why Greeks voted against the gods of Europe, 1 June 2014.

⁸⁵ Greece shocked at EU peace prize amid economic war, 12 October 2012.

negative aspect of this situation - it refers to the lack of democratic deficit in the adoption of the severe measures, as a result of which, many Greeks feel that their lives are governed from outside (part of the dominant discourse framework 'Greece as a country subjected to negative external influence'). The excerpt also provides another evidence that the *Guardian* does not ignore the intrastate problems that have contributed to the GDC, e.g. *Greece may be paying for years of profligacy but ...* (indicator 4 - morality tale of the crisis, ex. 17,18, 28, 38).

iii) Finally, one of the 6 occurrences comes from an article which comments on the rise of nationalism in Greece. This particular phenomenon is most often discussed in the *Guardian* in relation to the increasing support of the far right party in Greece, the New Golden Dawn. In this article, however, the author refers to the rise of nationalism in connection with the massive strikes and protests that took place in Greece in autumn 2011, i.e. the commentator presents these events as signs of a positive form of nationalism, a form of national resistance (ex. 54).

(54) By imposing ruthless austerity, privatisation and liberalisation, the EU has eventually succeeded in **igniting the nationalist sentiment of Greeks**. The rejection of the latest bailout has taken a nationalist **tinge**, often directed against perceived German domination. Lest it be misunderstood, this is **not yet virulent nationalism**. It is more a **reaction to the loss of national sovereignty and independence** that would result from the permanent monitoring of Greek finances by EU bureaucrats, and from the plan to sell a huge range of public assets to pay off debt. It is also a **reaction to the palpable weakening of the democratic process** in the course of the crisis. Papandreou is fully aware of the risk of being branded a traitor, fairly or unfairly.⁸⁶

Then, in the next step, I focused on the second analysed collocate of the KW *Greeks*, the verb form *are*, which collocates with *Greeks* in 21 texts altogether 33 times and its most relevant position for the present analysis is R1 (14 hits) making up the pattern *Greeks are*. In 5 of the 14 hits, *are* stands for a copula, 2 of these lines involve evaluation. In the first case, there is the statement: *Greeks are a proud people*. This assessment is clearly positive as it occurs in an article in which the author expresses the need for the Greek resistance to the Troika's programme (indicator 1 - negative stereotyping), see example (55).

(55) The violent impoverishment of large masses, the extensive privatisation of

⁸⁶ Greece crisis: Papandreou's referendum is a gamble too far, 1 November 2011.

services and utilities through the radical reduction of the state sector, and the extensive dependency on foreign markets for servicing the debt amount to a loss of sovereignty compared to a state under foreign occupation, to an extensive re-arrangement of national assets in favour of capital and a serious European legitimisation crisis. **Greeks are a proud people.** They have been constantly bombarded by the media, the government and pliant academics intent on making them **believe that they are to blame for the failures of a system none has ever voted for.**⁸⁷

Also, this article carries relevance to the morality tale indicator (indicator 4) of the anti-Greek bias, as it shows that the *Guardian* views ordinary Greeks as victims, rather than causers of the GDC (also ex. 14, 27, 28). With the second hit then, the evaluation is part of a more complex discourse structure. There is the sentence: *Greeks are not disciplined like the Germans or the British.* This statement is, in itself, clearly negative. However, the immediate co-text plays an important role in this case. It shows that the evaluation is here part of a quote from an external source, it is the opinion of Stylianos Pattakos, one of the last remaining high profile representatives of the 1970s military junta regime, see example (56).

(56) As Athens prepares to receive the biggest bailout in history – up to €120bn dispensed from the EU and IMF over the next three years – the consensus is that Greece has reached rock bottom. A point so low that **even Brigadier Stylianos Pattakos, the last of the dictators still alive, feels unabashedly vindicated.** “In our time,” he told the Observer in an interview, “there was no debt. Not one drachma went astray. The **Greeks are not disciplined like the Germans or the British.** They need authority.” Today the junta is embodied not by the likes of Pattakos, who at the age of 98 has no qualms about his role in quashing liberty in the birthplace of democracy, but the IMF.⁸⁸

This excerpt shows a discourse interaction between the extra-textual reality (i.e. the moral credit of the quoted source) and the co-text elements, where a parallel is drawn between the oppressive regime Pattakos represented and the contemporary involvement of the IMF in the situation in Greece. As a result of this interplay, the impact of the expressed negative evaluation is debased, i.e. it cannot be seen as an inherent part of the *Guardian* discourse on Greeks (indicator 1).

⁸⁷ Greeks must fight the neoliberal EU, 4 February 2010.

⁸⁸ The Greek spirit of resistance turns its guns on the IMF, 9 May 2010.

In the remaining 9 occurrences of *Greeks are*, the collocate *are* is part of progressive tense. These concordance lines reveal discourse patterns that have been previously delineated in the survey. There are, for example, excerpts dealing with the social impact of the GDC, with the impact of the crisis on beliefs and attitudes of Greeks, etc. One of these articles deserves quotation as it represents yet another piece of evidence for the *Guardian*'s negative stance on the Greek-bashing (indicator 4 morality tale) (ex. 57):

(57) **Thankfully**, there are signs that many **Greeks are blaming those directly responsible** for the current crisis and **not believing** a person like IMF head Christine Lagarde, who remains **in denial about how her organisation punishes the most vulnerable** in Greece.⁸⁹

To sum up, the analysis of the KW *Greeks* has further supported the view that the *Guardian* does not convey stereotypical views of the Greeks as a nation (indicator 1). The examination of the collocations *of Greeks* and *Greeks are* has shown that the newspaper sets its portrayal of Greeks into a broader context. It delineates, often in a great detail, the situation the ordinary people have had to face as a result of the GDC. The examples of direct evaluation have shown that some of the cliché views of the Greeks as a nation (e.g. a strong national pride, Southern stubbornness, a lack of discipline, laziness etc.) either do not occur/are presented in a positive context (e.g. family, resistance to oppression - ex. 25, 56), or they are debased (ex. 57) in the *Guardian*. In general then, it can be said that the *Guardian* seeks to convey a more complex picture than that of the Greeks as a lazy, corrupted, fierce nation reacting excessively on a situation it had incurred itself. The newspaper discourse gives rise to the notion of a nation whose elites had contributed considerably to the ruining of the country, and where, the rest of the society now suffers the consequences.

5.2. A metaphor-oriented analysis of the Guardian

In this Section, a corpus-assisted metaphor analysis is carried out to further support the *Guardian* GDC discourse study. As has been already noted with several examples in the analysis of the five core KWs in 5.1, metaphors may play an important role in the discourse (see e.g. ex. 6, 24, 38 - austerity measures constructed as a wrong MEDICINE, Greece as a GUINEA PIG). The focus here is on two abstract concepts (*debt crisis*, *austerity measures*) that

⁸⁹ Only the radical left can save Greece – and Europe – from disaster, 2 July 2014.

have been already discussed and exemplified extensively in the previous Section 5.1. One of the examples suggesting how is the *debt* together with *crisis* constructed by the *Guardian* shows them as an uncontrollable natural force that has a negative physical (overpowering) effect on Greece (cf.: an example not presented in 5.1. survey: *[i]n the three years that Greece has been engulfed by the drama of its debt, crisis have come and gone*⁹⁰). As for the *austerity measures*, they significantly contribute to the dominant the *Guardian* GDC discourse framework: ‘Greece as a country subjected to negative external influence(s)’ (see Section 5.1).

The following analysis further elaborates on these observations. The aim is to provide a complex account of the metaphorical patterns (MPs) occurring in the *Guardian* with the two selected concepts that are here understood as target domains. In the case of the ‘*austerity measures* domain’, the objective is also to determine whether its metaphorical construction involves any patterns that contribute to the above-noted discourse framework - ‘Greece as a country subjected to negative external influence(s)’.

The metaphor analysis aims primarily at the core target domain KWs - *crisis* and *austerity*. However, their respective collocates *debt* and *measures* are examined as well. The survey opens with the KW *crisis*, then it proceeds to *debt*. The second part of the account proceeds from the KW *austerity* to the collocate KW *measures*. Table 16 gives a more detailed overview of these four KWs.

Keyword	Texts	Frequency of occurrence
<i>debt</i>	67/ 28.27 %	465
<i>crisis</i>	56/ 23.63 %	313
<i>austerity</i>	50/ 21.10 %	215
<i>measures</i>	25/ 10.55 %	140

Table 16: The analysed KWs and their frequencies.

KW *crisis*

The noun *crisis* is a key element in 36 texts, which is about 24 % of *The Guardian GDC Corpus* (see Table 3, Section 4.2.3.). The following Table 17 shows 40 most salient collocates of this

⁹⁰ Greek debt crisis 'far from over', January 2013.

KW.

Word	Relation	Texts	Frequency	Word	Relation	Texts	Frequency
<i>the</i>	1054.33	56	386	<i>this</i>	48.64	16	21
<i>crisis</i> ⁹¹	2876.23	56	316	<i>its</i>	39.73	17	20
<i>of</i>	188.60	49	112	<i>financial</i>	76.18	12	18
<i>to</i>	119.78	38	88	<i>on</i>	13.34	14	17
<i>a</i>	114.41	35	75	<i>been</i>	38.42	16	17
<i>in</i>	93.94	38	67	<i>into</i>	55.11	16	16
<i>and</i>	68.96	37	60	<i>country</i>	26.80	11	15
<i>s</i>	150.90	36	59	<i>from</i>	21.88	9	15
<i>is</i>	96.37	33	50	<i>since</i>	58.19	14	15
<i>debt</i>	173.65	27	42	<i>was</i>	15.56	10	14
<i>has</i>	110.36	24	42	<i>will</i>	18.64	11	14
<i>Greece</i>	79.79	31	40	<i>out</i>	41.32	12	14
<i>that</i>	50.41	25	38	<i>have</i>	11.98	12	14
<i>economic</i>	149.42	20	31	<i>not</i>	20.24	13	14
<i>it</i>	45.24	22	29	<i>said</i>	17.63	14	14
<i>with</i>	49.93	18	28	<i>be</i>	14.05	12	14
<i>Greek</i>	67.72	20	28	<i>more</i>	25.23	10	13
<i>by</i>	31.60	18	22	<i>at</i>	13.41	11	12
<i>for</i>	21.41	19	22	<i>Europe</i>	34.98	10	12
<i>as</i>	31.40	18	21	<i>Eurozone</i>	30.94	8	12

Table 17: Top 40 collocates of the KW *crisis* in The Guardian GDC Corpus.

As noted in Section 4.2.5., the metaphor-oriented analyses focuses on lexical collocates only. Only those lexical items relevant for MPs analysis information are presented in more detail. In the case of the KW *crisis*, the analysis focused on the lexical collocates: *debt*, *economic*, *financial*, *country*, *Europe*, *Eurozone*. Table 18 shows these items in more detail. Shaded is their typical, for the present study most relevant, and thus further analysed, position in relation to the node word *crisis*.

Word	Freq.	Total left	Total right	L5	L4	L3	L2	L1	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5
<i>debt</i>	42	40	2	-	-	2	1	37	-	-	1	-	1
<i>economic</i>	31	30	1	-	-	1	-	29	-	1	-	-	-

⁹¹ The item: *crisis*, is not a collocate.

<i>financial</i>	18	18	0	-	1	-	-	17	-	-	-	-	-
<i>country</i>	15	11	4	1	1	7	2	-	-	2	2	-	-
<i>Europe</i>	12	10	2	2	4	4	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
<i>Euro-zone</i>	12	10	2	-	-	-	1	9	-	-	-	-	2

Table 18: The analysed grammatical collocates of the KW *crisis* and their detailed distribution.

The examination of the collocates *debt*, *economic* and *financial* allows for the delineation of similarities and differences in MPs among closely related target domain items (*debt/ economic/ financial crisis*).

debt crisis

The first collocate I focused on is the noun *debt*, which collocates with the KW *crisis* in 27 texts, altogether 42 hits. The most frequent position of this item is L1, making up the pattern *debt crisis* (37 hits). The concordance of this noun phrase revealed 14 lines containing metaphors. In 7 cases, the MPs were highly conventionalized with no evaluative prosody (e.g. *debt crisis deepens*, *sovereign debt crisis*, *crisis triggers*). The rest of the concordance lines then displayed MPs of two types. The first type is represented by metaphors drawing on the source domain of NEGATIVE/DESTRUCTIVE NATURAL FORCES. The concordance contained four lines with the verb *erupt* (ex. 58), and one line with the verb *engulf* (ex. 59) in the immediate co-text.

(58) More than three years after Europe's ongoing **debt crisis erupted** in the shadow of the Acropolis, the Greek prime minister, Antonis Samaras, also wanted to make clear that the country, for so long at the centre of that drama, may not have **survived** had it not been for Paris.⁹²

(59)The forecast also adds a cautionary note to claims that the UK and US financial systems have a low exposure to **the debt crisis engulfing** Greece, and comes as

⁹² François Hollande turns up the warm message of support for Greece, 19 February 2013.

Britain's new risk watchdog, the financial policy committee (FPC), increased the pressure on banks to boost capital cushions.⁹³

According to the *BNC* search, the verb *erupt* collocates most frequently with the noun *volcano* (log likelihood: 452.784)⁹⁴. The use of the verb in the above-presented sentences then clearly indicates that the debt crisis is constructed as a form of a natural force that leaks out uncontrollably from inside of the Earth and that has negative (destructive) physical impact. In the *BNC*, four occurrences of the phrase *crises erupted* can also be found. This suggests that this MP is conventionalized. The *BNC* collocate list of the verb *erupt* also involves items such as *row* (341.765) and *violence* (318.167). The strength of these collocates indicates that the metaphorical use of the verb *erupt* is well-established with abstract concepts.

The verb *engulf* (ex. 59) is described in the *Oxford English Dictionary* online as follows: “([o]f a natural force) sweep over (something) so as to surround or cover it completely.”⁹⁵ This definition clearly indicates that the debt crisis is also constructed as an uncontrollable natural force with negative (in this case overpowering) physical impact. According to *BNC* search, the noun *crisis* figures among the most salient collocates of the verb *engulf* (log likelihood: 46.418). Thus, this MP can be classified as conventional.

The second type of patterns found with the collocation *debt crisis* are metaphors which drawn on the source domain of NATURAL FORCES and the domain of ESCAPE. In these cases (3 hits), the mapping does not convey the notion of a negative physical impact; the emphasis is on the notion of uncontrollability/uncontrollable successive spread. Example (60) involves the participle form *cascading* and example (61) the noun *runaway* (as a modifier):

(60) There are also **increasing warnings** of the **debt crisis cascading** across the Mediterranean into Portugal and Spain.⁹⁶

(61) But since the outbreak of **Greece's runaway debt crisis**, its moneyed class has been notable more by its absence than presence. Oligarchs, who made vast fortunes

⁹³ Credit default swap insurance against Greece may be worthless, 24 June 2011.

⁹⁴ Collocate search parameters: span -5, 5; min. frequency in the corpus 5; min. frequency in the span 3 - used with all other *BNC* collocate searches in Section 5.2.

⁹⁵ **engulf**, the *Oxford English Dictionary* online, accessed July, 28, 2016, <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/engulf>.

⁹⁶ Crisis in Greece leaves EU future in balance, warns Angela Merkel, 5 May 2010.

cornering the oil, gas, construction and banking industries, as well as the media, have been eerily silent - often going out of their way to be as low a profile as possible.⁹⁷

The word CASCADE (ex. 60) is, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary* online, in its literal meaning, always associated with water. In its nominal use, it stands for “a small waterfall, typically one of several that fall in stages down a steep rocky slope.”⁹⁸ The verb *to cascade* means “to pour downwards rapidly and in large quantities.”⁹⁹ On the basis of these definitions, it can be said that, in this case, the *debt crisis* is conceptualized as a natural element (water) that gradually spreads without any control. The *BNC* search shows that the verb *cascade* can be used metaphorically even with some concepts that are rooted in human activity, and that are, therefore, inherently controlled (e.g. *computer menu cascading*, *cascading cost model*, etc.). In these cases, the conceptual mapping is based on one particular feature of a *cascade* - namely, on its sequence structure. With the above-mentioned example, however, both the immediate context of the phrase (viz. *increasing warnings*), and the general context of the described events, suggest that the aspects of the source domain are mapped fully - i.e. the *debt crisis* is presented as an uncontrollable natural element that gradually spreads across Europe. The exact phrase *crisis cascading/cascading crisis* cannot be found in the *BNC*. According to the corpus, the participle form is used most often with concrete concepts (i.e. *juice cascading*, *oranges cascading*, etc.). Even though this may suggest that the MP is innovative, it is actually not so. A Google search reveals that *cascading* is commonly used together with the noun *crisis*. In fact, the phrase, in which the participle stands in the pre-modifying position (*cascading crisis*), represents a fixed term denoting an established economic concept.¹⁰⁰ The analysed MP can be, therefore, also classified as conventional.

The noun *runaway* (ex. 61) is, in the *Oxford English Dictionary* online, defined as: “a person who has run away, especially from their family or an institution;” as a modifier it stands for: “an animal or vehicle that is running *out of control*.”¹⁰¹ It follows from these definitions

⁹⁷ Greece’s super-rich maintain lavish lifestyles and low profiles, 13 June 2012.

⁹⁸ **cascade** (noun), the *Oxford English Dictionary* online, accessed July, 26, 2016, <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/cascade>.

⁹⁹ **cascade** (verb), the *Oxford English Dictionary* online, accessed July, 26, 2016, <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/cascade>.

¹⁰⁰ **cascading crisis** – “A cascading crisis is an unexpected event, or series of events, that creates a damaging domino effect of failures within or across systems. ...”, Penue, Statler and Hagen (eds.), (2013), *Encyclopedia of Crisis Management*, accessed July, 28, 2016, <http://sk.sagepub.com/reference/encyclopedia-of-crisis-management/n34.xml>.

¹⁰¹ **runaway**, the *Oxford English Dictionary* online, accessed July, 28, 2016, <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/runaway>.

that, in example 61, the debt crisis is constructed as an uncontrollable animate/inanimate force. The phrase *runaway crisis* does not occur in the *BNC*. The collocate list of the noun *runaway*, however, reveals that apart from the vehicle/person/animal noun collocates - e.g. *train* (log likelihood: 112.014), *schoolgirl* (78.935), *horse* (46.676), the word also collocates with an abstract noun related to the field of finance and economy - e.g. *inflation* (90.217). Moreover, Google search provides examples of the phrase *runaway crisis* (e.g. *runaway costs crisis*). Thus, it is clear that the MP is not innovative, but conventional either.

In general then, the concordance of the collocation *debt crisis* revealed two types of MPs: those in which the *debt crisis* is constructed as an uncontrollable natural force with negative physical impact - as a natural force that damages/overpowers Greece (source domain: NEGATIVE/DESTRUCTIVE NATURAL FORCES), and those in which it is presented simply as an uncontrollable animate/inanimate/natural force (spreading successively) (source domains: ESCAPE, NATURAL FORCES).

economic crisis

Other lexical collocate that proved to be relevant for the present study is the adjective *economic*, which collocates with *crisis* in 20 texts, altogether 31 hits. The most frequent position of the collocate - L1 (29 hits), revealed 11 lines with metaphors. In 3 cases, the patterns were highly conventionalized with no distinct evaluative prosody (e.g. *deepening economic crisis*). The remaining concordance lines showed some similarities with the collocation *debt crisis*. Namely, there were 3 hits with the verb *engulf*, which belongs, as discussed above, to the domain NEGATIVE/DESTRUCTIVE NATURAL FORCES. Then, in 5 occurrences, a different type of patterns was found. These were namely metaphors that draw on the source domain of VIOLENT PHYSICAL FORCES with negative PHYSICAL (also CORPOREAL) IMPACT. The immediate co-text of the collocation *economic crisis* revealed, in four cases, the verb *hit* (ex. 62), and in one case the verb *tear* (ex. 63).

(62) In an interview with the Guardian, Lagarde said she had more sympathy for victims of poverty in sub-Saharan Africa than Greeks **hit by the economic crisis.**¹⁰²

(63) Nobody knows which came first: **the economic crisis tearing** Greece apart or shisha, the drug now known as the ‘cocaine of the poor’.¹⁰³

¹⁰² Christine Lagarde’s Greek comments provoke fury, 28 May 2012.

¹⁰³ Greek addicts turn to deadly shisha drug as economic crisis deepens, 16 May 2013.

The MP in example 62 is grounded in the physical experience of a forceful impact/attack. The economic crisis is constructed as an agent (animate/inanimate) that physically strikes the country and its inhabitants, i.e. it is conceptualized as an outside agent that causes negative physical (/corporeal) effects. The figurative use of the verb *hit* is highly conventionalized; it is part of a wide range of idiomatic expressions. As for the MP *crisis hit(s)*, seven occurrences were found in the *BNC*.

With the verb *tear* (ex. 63) the situation is similar. The crisis is constructed as an animate/inanimate agent that “pull[s] [Greece] apart or to pieces with force”¹⁰⁴, i.e. as an animate/inanimate agent that causes damaging physical (/corporeal) effects.

Thus, two MPs have been found with the phrase *economic crisis*. The crisis is constructed either as an uncontrollable natural force that has a negative physical (overpowering) impact on Greece (source domain: NEGATIVE/DESTRUCTIVE NATURAL FORCES, a pattern shared with the target domain of *debt crisis*), or as an animate/inanimate agent that physically (/bodily) damages (/hurts) Greece (source domain: VIOLENT PHYSICAL FORCES, or more generally PHYSICAL ATTACK / HARM).

financial crisis

The adjective *financial* collocates with the KW *crisis* in 12 texts, altogether 18 times. It occurs most frequently at the L1 position making up the collocation *financial crisis* (17 hits). The concordance of this phrase involves 6 lines with metaphors. Three of these cases are highly conventionalized and not evaluative (*financial crisis triggered*, etc.). The remaining hits then reveal one type of patterns. There are two hits with MPs grounded in the VIOLENT PHYSICAL FORCES domain. The two verbs we find among the concordance lines are *bite* (ex. 64) and *cripple* (ex. 65).

(64) Before the **financial crisis first began to bite** three years ago, Greece had the lowest suicide rate in Europe at 2.8 per 100,000 inhabitants.¹⁰⁵

(65) Greeks are more distrustful than ever of their political class and its ability to

¹⁰⁴ **tear** (verb) - “pull (something) apart or to pieces with force,” the *Oxford English Dictionary* online, accessed July, 28, 2016, <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/tear#nav2>.

¹⁰⁵ Greek woes drive up suicide rate, 18 December 2011.

lead them out of the crippling financial crisis.¹⁰⁶

The MP in example 64, *crisis began to bite*, is grounded in the physical experience of an animate agent using its jaws to cut/tear/hold/grip, etc. The *Oxford English Dictionary* online distinguishes among several groups of agents that can figure in the metaphorical use of this verb. It can be: natural forces (*the acid rain had bitten deep into the surface*), human emotions (*Cheryl's betrayal had bitten deep*), or various abstract social concepts (*the cuts in art education were starting to bite*),¹⁰⁷ which is the case of the presented example. In general, in this pattern, the financial crisis is constructed as an animate/inanimate agent that causes negative physical/corporeal effects, i.e. the same type of pattern as with the collocation *economic crisis*. A BNC search has revealed only one hit with the phrase *crisis began to bite*, and one with the phrase *crisis bites*. Still, as the dictionary entry shows, the metaphorical use of the verb is conventionalized with similar abstract social concepts. Other evidence to this fact can be found in the BNC concordance (*The economic depression had bitten deeply into European morale*, or *Lap of luxury Recession bites hard*).

The verb *cripple* (ex. 65) means “to cause (someone) to become unable to walk or move properly”¹⁰⁸, which suggests the crisis is again constructed as an animate/inanimate agent, or a force that causes negative physical/corporeal effects (disabling effect). The BNC search of the form *crippling* shows that the word collocates both with items that stand for various forms of bodily harm (e.g. *injury* (log likelihood: 94.094), *disease* (78.525)), and items that represent negative social abstract concepts, such as *debt* (76.903) and *crisis* (50.679). The small difference between the collocate strength (based on log likelihood) of the literal and metaphorical collocates (*disease x debt*), serves here as a clear evidence of the conventionality of the MP *crippling financial crisis*. As for the frequency of occurrence of this expression, the BNC frequency list shows that *crippling* is more typical of periodicals than books (3.4 ipm, books: 1.7 ipm). Based on David Lee's classification, the word has the highest ipm in the tabloid type of newspapers (16.9 ipm).

¹⁰⁶ Greece debt crisis: The 'we won't pay' anti-austerity revolt, 31 July 2011.

¹⁰⁷ **bite** (verb) – the *Oxford English Dictionary* online, accessed July, 29, 2016, <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/bite?q=bite+>.

¹⁰⁸ **cripple** (verb), the *Oxford English Dictionary* online, accessed July, 28, 2016, <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/cripple>.

country/Europe/Eurozone + crisis

The collocates *country*, *Europe* and *Eurozone* will not be dealt with in more detail as their concordance showed, in most cases, the same MPs as those found in the concordance of the collocations *debt/economic/financial crisis*. The only new patterns found were those in which a notion of a storm (source domain: NEGATIVE/DESTRUCTIVE NATURAL FORCES) is being mapped on the target domain of the *crisis*. Two occurrences with this pattern have been found, see example 66:

(66) Like a freak storm, the Eurozone crisis has swept over this land, leaving despair and destruction in its wake: almost no household has not felt the effects of wage and pension cuts (slashed by an average 40%), soaring taxes and unemployment that at 26.7% is the highest in the EU and unprecedented in Greece's post-war history.¹⁰⁹

KW debt

The noun *debt* (collocating with *crisis*) represents a key item in 67 text, which is 28.27 % of *The Guardian GDC Corpus* (see Table 3, Section 4.2.3.). Table 19 below shows 40 most salient collocates of this KW.

Word	Relation	Texts	Frequency	Word	Relation	Texts	Frequency
<i>debt</i>	4793.64	67	472	<i>restructur-</i> <i>ing</i>	303.36	18	33
<i>the</i>	703.89	67	325	<i>as</i>	63.09	24	31
<i>of</i>	486.92	60	190	<i>public</i>	108.51	15	27
<i>to</i>	345.30	58	154	<i>burden</i>	232.00	16	27
<i>a</i>	269.28	53	120	<i>be</i>	48.62	19	26
<i>s</i>	334.57	49	98	<i>country</i>	59.75	18	24
<i>and</i>	167.12	45	94	<i>has</i>	33.79	18	23
<i>Greece</i>	257.89	45	81	<i>default</i>	134.63	17	23
<i>its</i>	361.07	43	80	<i>would</i>	52.98	17	21
<i>Greek</i>	265.73	32	67	<i>this</i>	42.26	13	20
<i>on</i>	178.76	37	63	<i>was</i>	31.18	14	20
<i>in</i>	72.80	39	62	<i>but</i>	36.40	17	20

¹⁰⁹ Greece forges template for economic recovery as tourists pour in, 3 July 2014.

<i>is</i>	116.31	30	57	<i>have</i>	25.47	13	20
<i>that</i>	103.96	37	56	<i>sovereign</i>	143.72	15	19
<i>by</i>	128.36	31	48	<i>relief</i>	157.23	10	18
<i>crisis</i>	205.01	31	47	<i>GDP</i>	90.79	11	17
<i>for</i>	86.60	26	44	<i>not</i>	28.07	15	17
<i>it</i>	75.89	25	39	<i>interest</i>	99.84	11	17
<i>at</i>	98.51	26	35	<i>will</i>	26.04	10	17
<i>with</i>	71.81	24	35	<i>sustain able</i>	138.70	11	15

Table 19: Top 40 collocates of the KW *debt* in The Guardian GDC Corpus.

The analysis focused on the lexical collocates *Greece*, *Greek*, *burden* and *default*. Table 20 presents a detailed view of these items. Shaded is their typical, for the present study most relevant, and thus further analysed, position in relation to the node word *debt*.

Word	Freq.	To- tal left	To- tal right	L5	L4	L3	L2	L1	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5
<i>Greece</i>	81	60	21	6	8	18	26	2	3	2	11	2	3
<i>Greek</i>	67	60	7	4	-	3	4	49	-	2	2	-	3
<i>bur- den</i>	27	7	20	2	1	3	1	-	18	-	1	-	1
<i>default</i>	23	8	15	-	4	4	-	-	10	2	1	-	2

Table 20: The analysed grammatical collocates of the KW *debt* and their detailed distribution.

The survey does not go into detail with these collocations as their concordance revealed patterns that were rather unsurprising. As two of the collocates in the table suggest, the two main MPs identified with the KW *debt* were *debt burden* and *sovereign debt*. Both of these metaphors are highly conventionalized. It is, however, mainly the former pattern that bears relevance with regard to the present study as it carries evaluative prosody. See example (67):

(67) Under these conditions **the burden of enormous Greek debt is unbearable**, even at rates of 2% and with longer maturities.¹¹⁰

¹¹⁰ Greece doesn't need yet another 'rescue' package - it needs a way out, 27 August 2013.

The noun *burden* stands for “a load, typically a heavy one.”¹¹¹ This notion serves as the basis for the conventional metaphor *debt burden*. In the quoted context, the Greek debt is presented as heavy *unbearable* load that rests on Greece. The author in example 67 has worked innovatively with two conventional metaphorical expressions: *unbearable burden* and *debt burden*. The former is often used with various non-physical concepts (emotions, tasks, etc.). The latter stands for a fixed metaphorical phrase which is conventionalized to such an extent that it is used as an economic term.

KWs *austerity* and *measures*

Since the analysis results of with the KWs *austerity* and *measures* are similar to a considerable degree to those presented for the target domain of *debt crisis*, the two key items will be discussed together in a summary. KW *austerity* is a key item in 50 texts, which is 21.10 % of *The Guardian GDC Corpus*, and KW *measures* is key in 25 texts (10.55 %) - see Table 3, Section 4.2.3. Table 21 below shows the top 30 collocates of each of these two KWs.

<i>austerity</i>				<i>measures</i>			
Word	Relation	Texts	Frequency	Word	Relation	Texts	Frequency
<i>austerity</i>	2210.91	50	217	<i>the</i>	278.91	25	147
<i>the</i>	376.95	47	185	<i>measures</i>	1353.93	25	140
<i>of</i>	195.59	42	92	<i>to</i>	68.02	20	49
<i>to</i>	90.31	34	61	<i>austerity</i>	311.27	22	47
<i>measures</i>	411.32	28	58	<i>of</i>	39.65	19	40
<i>and</i>	94.78	30	55	<i>and</i>	21.12	15	26
<i>in</i>	48.32	26	39	<i>that</i>	31.11	19	22
<i>a</i>	38.13	21	36	<i>by</i>	49.97	15	21
<i>is</i>	76.30	25	36	<i>a</i>	10.01	13	20
<i>by</i>	68.58	19	27	<i>in</i>	7.69	13	18
<i>that</i>	39.97	23	27	<i>are</i>	36.54	13	16
<i>on</i>	33.73	15	20	<i>Greece</i>	20.49	13	15
<i>as</i>	35.40	16	18	<i>will</i>	36.89	12	15

¹¹¹ **burden** (noun), the *Oxford English Dictionary* online, accessed July, 29, 2016, <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/burden?q=burden+>.

<i>for</i>	21.06	15	17	<i>have</i>	21.46	9	13
<i>Greece</i>	22.21	16	17	<i>these</i>	64.38	11	12
<i>it</i>	23.92	16	17	<i>on</i>	13.68	10	12
<i>but</i>	36.89	15	16	<i>with</i>	16.61	7	12
<i>Greek</i>	35.20	12	16	<i>against</i>	52.43	10	11
<i>more</i>	39.89	11	14	<i>s</i>	8.83	9	11
<i>package</i>	80.06	7	14	<i>Greek</i>	16.78	8	10
<i>have</i>	21.08	12	14	<i>as</i>	12.77	9	10
<i>has</i>	17.76	11	13	<i>parliament</i>	43.57	8	9
<i>programme</i>	72.50	10	13	<i>more</i>	21.10	5	9
<i>its</i>	22.35	11	12	<i>new</i>	22.87	6	8
<i>with</i>	13.63	12	12	<i>but</i>	11.33	8	8
<i>further</i>	63.16	10	12	<i>imposed</i>	53.29	6	8
<i>was</i>	18.59	11	12	<i>Greeks</i>	18.26	5	7
<i>economy</i>	39.27	9	11	<i>for</i>	2.27	7	7
<i>s</i>	6.57	10	11	<i>be</i>	6.14	7	7
<i>cuts</i>	48.36	9	11	<i>latest</i>	36.38	6	6
				<i>painful</i>	38.48	5	5

Table 21: Top 30 collocates of the KWs *austerity* and *measures* in The Guardian GDC Corpus.

With the KW *austerity* I focused on the collocates *measures* and *programme*, and with the KW *measures* on the collocates *Greece*, *parliament* and *painful*. Table 22 provides an overview of these items with their typical (relevant) positions shaded. The additional figure (/) in the shaded field shows the number of MPs found.

	Word	Freq.	Total left	Total right	L5	L4	L3	L2	L1	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5
<i>austerity</i>	<i>measures</i>	58	0	58	-	-	-	-	-	51/10	-	1	-	-
	<i>programme</i>	13	1	12	1	-	-	-	-	12/3	-	-	-	-
<i>measures</i>	<i>Greece</i>	15	4	11	1	-	3	-	-	2	4/2	1	1	3
	<i>parliament</i>	9	3	6	1	-	2/1	-	-	1	1	2	1	1
	<i>painful</i>	5	5	0	-	1	1	1	2	-	-	-	-	-

Table 22: The analysed grammatical collocates of the KWs *austerity* and *measures* and their detailed distribution.

As can be seen in Table 22, a much lower number of metaphors was found with the KWs *austerity* and *measures*, than with the KW collocation *debt crisis*. The delineated patterns were, to a great degree, analogous to those described with the first analysed target domain. There were namely patterns based on the notion of:

- i) A heavy load that has a negative physical impact (2 hits), e.g. example (68) (source domain: HEAVY LOAD with NEGATIVE PHYSICAL IMPACT).

(68) Delinquency and crime have soared as Greece's **social fabric has unravelled under the weight of austerity measures** [...]¹¹².

- ii) A violent physical force with negative physical (also corporeal) impact (with adjectives: *ravaged* (1 hit) and *tightening/belt-tightening* (2 hits)) (source domain: (VIOLENT) PHYSICAL FORCE with NEGATIVE PHYSICAL IMPACT, more generally ATTACK/ HARM); or the notion of a force (condition) that has negative impact primarily in corporeal terms (with adjectives: *harsh* (4), *painful* (7); and noun: *pain* (1)) (source domain: A FORCE/A CONDITION with NEGATIVE CORPOREAL IMPACT - more general: NEGATIVE PHYSICAL CONDITION/ INJURY), see example (69):

(69) Greece has not done enough to clamp down on "notorious tax evasion" by the rich and self-employed, leaving those on salaries and pensions to take **most of the pain from the austerity measures** imposed as part of [...].¹¹³

As this shows, there is, unlike with the domain *debt crisis*, a greater emphasis on the notion of a negative bodily experience, which is clearly supported by the occurrence of the adjective *painful* in the collocate list of the KW *measures*. The source domain of a force/a condition that gives physical pain is, according to the *BNC* search, mapped on various abstract concepts (e.g. collocates: *experience* (log likelihood: 421.059), *memories* (393.319), *process* (259.399)). The MP *painful measures* is thus, just as all the other patterns found with the target domain *austerity measures*, conventional. Unlike with the 'debt crisis domain', the notion of uncontrollability (natural forces) is completely missing in the metaphorical construction of *austerity measures*. This logically stems from the very character of the two domains - (debt) crisis is a situation that

¹¹² Greek addicts turn to deadly shisha drug as economic crisis deepens, 16 May 2013.

¹¹³ Greece not tough enough on rich tax evaders, IMF says, 6 May 2013.

arises “itself” (even though on the basis of actions that are controlled/conscious) and (austerity) measures stand for processes that are created/imposed consciously.

To sum up, the analysis of the target domain *debt crisis* focused on two KWs: the ‘core KW’ *crisis* and the collocate KW *debt*. MPs were identified in the concordance of the following collocations: *debt/economic/financial/country/Europe/Eurozone* + ***crisis*** and *Greece/Greek/burden/default* + ***debt***. The analysis of these patterns showed that the *crisis* is in the *Guardian* constructed in two ways: 1) as an uncontrollable natural force that is physically destructive or overpowering, and 2) as an animate/inanimate agent, or a force that also causes negative physical (/corporeal) effects. The Greek *debt* is constructed as part of this frame. It is presented as a heavy load that paralyzes, stifles, and oppresses the country.

With the target domain *austerity measures* the ‘core KW’ *austerity* and the collocate *measures* were analysed. Metaphorical language was generally less prominent than with the KWs *crisis* and *debt*. Metaphors were identified with the collocations ***austerity*** + *measures/programme*, and ***measures*** + *Greece/parliament/painful*. The patterns were mostly of the same type as those found with the concept of the *debt crisis*. The main difference in the mapping rested in the greater emphasis on the notion of negative bodily experience, and in the lack of the aspect of uncontrollability (over negative impact). Both of these differences stem from the very nature of the analysed concepts.

No innovative MPs were found with either of the two analysed domains. In one part, there were highly conventionalized patterns with no evaluative prosody. The other part consisted of patterns that were evaluative, yet, still also conventional. In general, it can be said that the *Guardian* employed in its discourse construction of the *debt crisis* and *austerity measures* two types of conceptual metaphors: 1) metaphors based on the source domain of uncontrollable destructive natural forces and 2) metaphors based on the domain of (violent) physical forces/conditions with negative physical (in many cases corporeal) impact. These two types of mapping share one crucial aspect - they both carry negative evaluative meaning. This fact is important especially with regard to the target domain of *austerity measures*, whose evaluative construction serves as one of the indicators of anti-Greek bias. The metaphorical construction of *austerity measures* contributes to the negative and critical view the *Guardian* holds on this issue (see Section 5.1). Considering the nature of the delineated MPs (general source domains: ATTACK/HARM/INJURY), it can be also said that the metaphorical construction of *austerity measures* is part of the main discourse framework labelled for the purposes of the present study as ‘Greece as a country subjected to negative external influence(s)’.

6. Conclusion

The present thesis focuses on the examination of the *Guardian* position in relation to the bilateral discourse framework of the European economic crisis (EEC)/Greek debt crisis (GDC). The study is divided into two analytical sections. The first part (Section 5.1) deals with five core keywords (KWs) denoting the main places, institutions and players involved in the GDC: *Greece*, *EU*, *IMF*, *Athens* and *Greeks*. The focus is primarily on grammatical (mainly prepositional) collocates and the patterns these make up with the selected KWs. The GDC discourse is examined in relation to five ‘anti-Greek bias indicators’ as postulated by Pavlakis (see Section 2.2), which include: presence of - stereotypes about Greeks, the opinion that austerity measures are deserved as part of the punishment for perceived Greek misdeeds in the past, ‘us versus them’ mentality, ‘morality tale’ of the crisis (causes of the situation), fear-mongering with regard to the development of the crisis, strikes and protests in Athens). This discourse stands in contrast to another perspective - ‘the Southern opinion’, characterized by the primary assignment of guilt for the crisis to “the systemic issues in the structure of the [EU/] Eurozone” (Pavlakis 2013: 9) and also, often, by the presence of stereotypes/clichés about the EU, or about particular creditor states in the North (mainly Germany). “Additionally, [the narrative] also critique[s] austerity measures for punishing workers for their governments’ attempts to support the financial sector, whose speculation on the crisis worsened the situation” (Pavlakis 2013: 9).

The analysis of the most salient word of the corpus, the KW *Greece*, showed the *Guardian* GDC discourse constructing Greece as the country in a crisis, as well as, inherently, the newspaper’s view of the Troika GDC management. A particular attention in the analysis has been paid to the presence/absence of the construction of austerity measures as a form of deserved punishment for the perceived Greek misdeeds in the past (indicator 2). The analysis of the patterns *for/to/with/ on/out, as* and *by + Greece* has revealed a prominence of lexis referring to negatively evaluated external influence over Greece, i.e. Greece is in the *Guardian* constructed as a country subjected to negative, even harmful, external actions. The central role in this prominent discourse framework has the newspaper’s unequivocally negative view of the Troika GDC management. The *Guardian* constructs the Troika’s strategy applied in Greece as a form of a sacrifice of the needs of the masses for the benefit of the creditors and economic interests. The negative evaluation is either direct (e.g. ex. (1) *Their **plan for Greece** is all about **pain and punishment***), or it arises from an interaction of two or more discourse elements and the evaluative layer is less direct or only implied (e.g. ex. (3) *Germany has **signalled** it is preparing a*

third rescue package for Greece - provided the debt-stricken country implements “rigorous” austerity measures blamed for record levels of unemployment and a dramatic drop in GDP, and other). In all these cases, the negative evaluative construction rests primarily on the criticism of the austerity measures that stand in contrast to financial assistance. Austerity is viewed by the *Guardian* as a policy that has disastrous effects on the Greek population and that, at the same time, does not solve, but deepens the crisis (viz. e.g. examples: (7) *Austerity has been a failure, for Greece and for the rest of the single currency* ; (10) *The International Monetary Fund admitted it had failed to realise the damage austerity would do to Greece...*; (6) *Antonis Samaras, Harvard-trained economist and head of the main centre-right party, says the medicine is wrong for Greece...*, and many other). In general, it can be said that the indicator 2 of the anti-Greek bias is not present in the *Guardian* discourse on the GDC.

Furthermore, the analysis of the KW *Greece* has also provided examples with regard to the ‘us versus them mentality’ and the ‘morality tale framework’ (indicators 3 and 4). As for the latter facet - the analysis has not revealed any cases suggesting negative contrasting of Greece with Britain. In terms of the indicator 3, ‘us versus them mentality’, that relates to the possible solutions of the crisis, where the main question is “Should Greece solve the crisis itself?”, the examination has presented several examples indicating *Guardian*’s support of the ‘solidarity framework’. This discourse construction rests primarily on negative evaluation of a distancing from the help to Greece (e.g. ex. (26) *Greece has been condemned by European officialdom for its huge deficits*; also e.g. (20), (35), (36)). Therefore, it can be said that discourse suggesting the presence of the indicator 3 does not occur in the *Guardian* discourse either. The same applies to the indicator 4 - ‘morality tale of the crisis’. The relevant examples show that both sides, Greece and the EU, are reflected by the newspaper in relation to the guilt question. The *Guardian* takes into account the intrastate Greek problems (shadow economy, corruption, etc.) and at the same time, it points to several issues, such as the existing double standard within the EU, prioritisation of the leader states’ profit over the economic situation of the periphery, etc. (e.g. ex. (28) *Past mistakes, committed not just by Greece, but also by its international partners, make a difficult short-term future unavoidable*; also e.g. (17) and (18)). Importantly, also, in the Greek context, a strong emphasis is placed on the culpability of the state elites (political, economic, media) and the blamelessness of the average Greeks (e.g. ex. (27) *The crisis in Greece wasn’t caused by everyone. And not everyone is paying for the crisis*, also (14), (28), (57)). These are supported with evidence from the analysis of the KWs *EU*, *Athens* and *Greeks*. In general, these observations clearly show that the *Guardian* provides a complex view on the morality aspect

of the crisis - i.e. it does not lean to the one-sided assignment of guilt for the GDC to the Greeks as it is with the indicator 4 of the anti-Greek bias.

The analysis also dealt with two KWs standing, in the GDC discourse, in opposition to *Greece* - namely, the *EU* and the *IMF*. The study of these two closely-related key items has further supported the observations made with the KW *Greece*. It has shown how the negative view of the Troika GDC management is, in the *Guardian*, projected into the discursive construction of the individual institutions involved, as well as, implicitly, into the presentation of the decision group - the Troika - as the whole. The discourse construction in the concordance of these KWs rests again on the interaction of the two interrelated concepts/aspects of the Troika GDC management - financial assistance and austerity measures, of which the latter is negatively evaluated (e.g. ex. (31) *As the country on the frontline of Europe's debt crisis, Greece has been **forced** to adopt **excruciating** reforms and spending cuts in return for rescue packages sponsored by **the EU and International Monetary Fund**, and other*). The Troika (the EU/the IMF) is seen by the *Guardian*, as stated above, as a source of harmful external influence. Apart from the evaluative patterns associated with the GDC management (viz. ex. (31)), the analysis did not reveal any additional negative evaluative frameworks that would indicate presence of some negative, or even cliché and stereotypical, views of the EU. This again supports the observation that the *Guardian* is critical of the EU only in relation to the GDC, specifically its solution and the causes (e.g. ex. (17), (18), (28), (1), (2), (3), and many other). On the whole, however, the newspaper is not Eurosceptic as it supports the concept of European unity and solidarity (indicator 3).

The KW *Athens*, which represents the main place of the Greek strikes and protests, was analysed mainly with respect to the indicator 5. The analysis focused on determining the extent to which the *Guardian* reports on the unrests in the Greek capital as well as how much it attends to the social impact of the crisis. Moreover, with both 'strikes and protests' and 'social impact of the crisis' examples, attention was paid to the presence/absence of fear-mongering - namely the presence/absence of sensational language and future-oriented fear-mongering. The examinations has revealed that the reporting of the street uprisings is in terms of frequency more prominent in the *Guardian* discourse than the reporting on negative manifestations of the crisis in Greek society. At the same time, however, the issue of the negative social impact of the crisis is, by no means, neglected by the newspaper. The *Guardian* does not contribute to the anti-Greek bias with neither of these thematic contexts. In the case of 'the strikes and protests'

articles, the presence of sensational language and fear-mongering through reference to the possible further escalation of the situation, is counterweighted by the newspaper's provision of detailed context. The articles dealing with the social impact of the GDC also give a detailed and authentic account of the issues they focus on. The agitated tone, use of emotive words and future-oriented fearmongering suggesting a possible outbreak of humanitarian crisis are, in all of these cases, part of an effort to draw attention to the seriousness of the situation in Greece. In general then, it can be said that the *Guardian*'s reporting on the situation in the Greek capital does not contribute to the anti-Greek bias. In other words, the indicator 5 is present, yet, it is not employed as part of constructing a negative view of Greece/Greeks.

The analysis of the KW *Greeks* further supports these claims. The examples in the concordance of this key item also provide relevant information with respect to the indicator 1 (presence/absence of negative stereotypes about Greeks). The analysis has confirmed that the newspaper again sets its portrayal of Greeks into a broader context and delineates, often in a great detail, the situation the ordinary people have had to face as a result of the GDC. The examples of direct evaluation have shown that some of the cliché views of the Greeks as a nation either do not occur, are presented in a positive context, or they are debased (e.g. examples (25), (55), (56)). Thus, it can be said that the *Guardian* seeks to convey a more complex picture than that of the Greeks as a lazy, corrupted, fierce nation reacting excessively to a situation it had incurred itself. Instead, the newspaper discourse describes a nation whose elites had contributed considerably to the ruining of the country, and the rest of the society now suffers the consequences (indicators 1, 2, 4, 5).

The second part, Section 5.2, presents an analysis of metaphorical language, focusing on two prominent abstract concepts of the GDC discourse: the *debt crisis* and *austerity measures*. The analysis of these four KWs, which collocate with each other, is focused, unlike in Section 5.1., on lexical collates only. The study has revealed that the metaphorical construction of *austerity measures* contributes to the negative and critical view the *Guardian* holds on this issue. The identified metaphorical patterns have provided evidence showing that the metaphors associated with the concept of austerity are part of the dominant discourse framework constructing Greece as a country subjected to a negative (harmful) external influence (e.g. ex (69) *...the pain from the austerity measures...*; (68) *Delinquency and crime have soared as Greece's social fabric has unravelled under the weight of austerity measures*, and other).

To sum up, the detailed analysis has shown that the *Guardian* reporting on the GDC does not involve any of the five core indicators of the anti-Greek bias. At the same time, however, the newspaper does not present the directly opposite view of the situation in Greece - i.e.

the antithetical ‘Southern opinion’. The analysis did not focus on the KWs that could possibly provide information on the issue of stereotyping of other concerned EU nations (i.e. the KW *Germany*). The newspaper presents more complex views on the issue of the guilt for the crisis and it does not employ negative stereotypes of the EU either.

However, importantly, there is an accord with ‘the Southern view’ of the crisis in one crucial aspect. This is, namely, the *Guardian*’s strong emphasis on “the critique of austerity...” (Pavlakis 2013: 9) as well as its attention paid to the negative impact these measures had on the Greek society. It can be thus said, that the initial hypothesis in this thesis has been confirmed by the analysis: the *Guardian* discourse on the GDC does not present neither “the Northern diagnosis” nor ‘the Southern opinion’ on the crisis. Yet, in one of the core aspects, the perception of the crisis management by the EU authorities and an expressed sympathy and solidarity with the Greek people, the newspaper is close to the former of the two narratives of the crisis, i.e. the view held by the debtor countries themselves. The strongly critical view of austerity, as well as the concern for the particular negative effects it has had on the everyday life of the ordinary Greeks can be linked to the main characteristics of the *Guardian* discourse (see Section 2.3).

Since its first publication reacting on 1821 Peterloo massacre, the *Guardian* has, as a newspaper founded by textile traders and merchants, remained true to its initial orientation and focus. It has been traditionally seen as a left-wing, liberal newspaper with a distinctive interest in social issues of various kinds. Over the last few decades the *Guardian* got a label of a smug newspaper and is subjected to a long-standing jibe among some of the British society. At the same time, following the popular reference to “champagne socialism” (De Lisle, 2012), the newspaper has been often accused of a loss of its original track, its northern working-class roots. Some of the critics claim that the newspaper now “largely believes that Britain ‘is only London’ and spends much of its time navel gazing.”¹¹⁴ The present thesis analysis has provided substantial evidence against this view as it has shown that in its reporting on the GDC, the *Guardian* definitely remained true to its socially-aware stance.

A comparison of the results of the analysis with those of Pavlakis’ study indicate that the newspaper had a rather unique position among the British press, or at least compared to the British media that were analysed by Pavlakis. Pavlakis analysed articles from three different stages of the GDC in the *Sun*, the best-selling British newspaper, a tabloid with right-wing,

¹¹⁴ “British Newspapers,” *TV Tropes*, accessed August, 8, 2016, <http://tvtropes.org/pmwiki/pmwiki.php/UsefulNotes/BritishNewspapers?from=Main.BritishNewspapers>.

Eurosceptic grounding, which displayed, according to Pavlakis, some indicators of the anti-Greek bias throughout the analysed period. The newspaper's reporting involved mainly stereotypes and sensationalizing. Both of these features were in the coverage linked to strongly Eurosceptic views. The other paper analysed by Pavlakis, *Financial Times*, the moderately pro-Europe daily newspaper focusing on business and economy, with no clearly determined political affiliation, did, as Pavlakis shows, also display signs of the anti-Greek bias. The *Financial Times* refrained from sensationalism, yet, at the same time, it employed stereotyping together with the moral narrative of the crisis to a great extent. In the last analysed stage, the newspaper acquired a broader and more critical view on the Troika GDC plan, its general stance on the EU and European integration remained, however, neutral.

It is clear that the *Guardian* cannot be, in terms of the GDC discourse, compared to any of these two British news sources. The only similarity can be found between the *Guardian* and the *Financial Times* and the view of the EU/EU integration arising from their respective discourses on the GDC. The *Financial Times* reporting on the crisis remained neutral in its attitude to the EU. The *Guardian*, as the analysis has showed, is supportive of the notion of the EU/ EU solidarity and (political) integration. In relation to the GDC, however, the newspaper's socially-aware stance prevails over its generally positive attitude to the EU. The newspaper was strongly critical of the Union and its role in the crisis. Since, Pavlakis' study shows that both the *Sun* and the *Financial Times* and results from public opinion surveys display to a certain degree biased views on the GDC, it can be said that the *Guardian* held a unique position in this respect.

Another interesting perspective to these observations could be provided through a comparison of the *Guardian* with other newspaper of a similarly complex background in relation to the bilateral 'EEC discourse framework.' One of the major Czech dailies with free online access - *MF Dnes* (idnes.cz), can be seen as a good candidate for such comparison. *MF Dnes* is published in the Czech Republic - the country that counts, just like Greece, among the small economies of the EU periphery. At the same time, Czech Republic was not hit by the EEC to the same extent as Greece and PIGS. Among the creditor states, CZ represents one of the "less" involved participants. All of these aspects could speak for the support of 'Southern opinion' on the GDC in this newspaper. Moreover, the Czech Republic is, even though not to the same extent as Britain, characterized by a tendency to Euroscepticism. This stance is voiced especially in *MF Dnes* whose editorial stance is right-wing and Eurosceptic (also suggests inclination of the newspaper to 'the Southern interpretation' of the crisis). At the same time, however, *MF Dnes* cannot be, as a conservative/neoliberal newspaper, labelled as a socially-aware news

source - a newspaper that would be concerned with the impact political and economic decisions have on popular masses. This factor speaks, by contrast, for a possible adherence to the “Northern diagnosis” of the GDC. In general then, as these characteristics indicate, the comparison of the British *Guardian* with the Czech *MF Dnes* could provide another perspective on the status of ‘the EEC discourse framework’ in the broader European context - i.e. among the countries that do not represent the main actors involved in the crisis (Northern creditor states vs Southern debtor states). In other words, the contrastive study would allow for a more complex assessment of the extent to which the construction of Greece as an epitome of the EEC (the Greek bashing) has been adopted by the European media, as well as, of the general impact this narrative had, though the media coverage, on the EU public discourse.

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Resumé

Tato diplomová práce se zaměřuje na diskurz spojený s tématem řecké dluhové krize v online zpravodajství britského deníku *the Guardian*. Studie vychází z rozdělení veřejné debaty kolem evropské ekonomické krize na dvě dominantní narativy: tzv. “Northern diagnosis” (DeGrauwe 2011: 5), tedy výklad převažující na severu Evropy mezi věřitelskými zeměmi, a ‘Southern opinion’, tedy pohled převládající v jižní Evropě mezi zadluženými státy. Práce si klade za cíl provést rozbor diskurzu *Guardianu* na téma řecké dluhové krize, který umožní přesné určení pozice tohoto deníku ve vztahu k zmíněnému bilaterálnímu diskurznímu rámci. *The Guardian* je liberální, sociálně zaměřený, proevropsky orientovaný deník vydávaný v Británii - zemi, jež se (politicky a ekonomicky) řadí k nejsilnějším státům Evropy/světa, a která se zároveň vyznačuje silnou náklonností k euroskepticismu. Tento komplexní kontext dává *Guardianu* zajímavou výchozí pozici vůči zkoumanému diskurznímu rámci evropské ekonomické krize. - V charakteristice deníku lze najít aspekty, které by mohly vypovídat o blízkosti k postoji zastávaného silnými věřitelskými ekonomikami, a současně i aspekty, které mohou svědčit o náklonnosti k postoji zadlužených států jihu, tedy malých ekonomik periferie, které jsou pod tlakem centra EU.

Výzkum v diplomové práci, věnující se tomuto tématu, patří - teoreticky a metodologicky - do oblasti analýzy diskurzu pomocí korpusových nástrojů (Corpus-assisted discourse analysis, CADS). Pro účely studie byl sesbírán korpus z článků online zpravodajství *the Guardian* na téma řecké dluhové krize. *Guardian* byl mezi britskými deníky vybrán k analýze zejména na základě dostupnosti online verze pro zpracování dat. Sesbíraný korpus - nazvaný v rámci práce *The Guardian GDC Corpus*, obsahuje 349 článků, celkem 277 973 slov. Tato data jsou analyzována pomocí korpusového nástroje *WordSmith 6*. Využity jsou dvě z hlavních korpusových metod: klíčová slova (databáze klíčových slov ve *WS*) a kolokace.

Zkoumání se zaměřuje na 5 indikátorů negativního (stereotypního) zobrazování Řecka, tedy narativy typické pro vůdčí věřitelské státy Evropy. Tyto indikátory definovala E. Pavlakis v rámci studie diskurzu na téma evropské ekonomické krize v německém a britském tisku. Mezi pět hlavních znaků tohoto postoje patří: přítomnost - stereotypizace Řeků jako národa, prezentace úsporných opatření jako zaslouženého trestu za přechozí řecké ‘přešlapy’, negativní srovnávání/distancování se od vzniklé situace (‘my a oni’), moralizující přístup v souvislosti s příčinami krize, vyvolávání strachu s ohledem na budoucí vývoj krize nebo popisem protestních akcí v Řecku).

Kapitola 1 poskytuje vhléd do daného tématu a s ním spojené zkoumané problematiky. Zároveň sekce nastoluje základní otázky stanovené pro výzkum. Kapitola 2 prezentuje výzkumný kontext, v jednotlivých podsekcích je pozornost zaměřena na výklad vzniku a průběhu dluhové krize v Řecku. Zároveň je zde podrobněji prezentován výzkumný rámec - tedy bilaterální rozdělení diskurzu na téma evropské ekonomické krize, a také základní charakteristika zkoumaného deníku. Kapitola 3 poskytuje teoretický základ pro výzkum. Počínaje hlavním konceptem diplomové práce - tj. diskurz, jsou postupně představeny další pojmy/koncepty a teoretické oblasti spojené s výzkumem: mediální diskurz, kritická analýza diskurzu, korpusová lingvistika a využití korpusových nástrojů k analýze diskurzu, klíčová slova, kolokace, kognitivní pojetí metaforického jazyka a jeho význam pro analýzu diskurzu. Kapitola 4 seznamuje s přístupem ke sběru dat, s nástrojem používaným k analýze a výběrem srovnávacího korpusu. Současně jsou v této sekci prezentována počáteční data a pilotní studie provedená na části těchto výsledků. Na základě poznatků získaných těmito kroky jsou dále specifikovány výzkumné otázky. Kapitola 5 představuje výsledky analýzy. Tato sekce je rozdělena do dvou částí 5.1. a 5.2. V první části se analýza věnuje pěti klíčovým slovům představujícím hlavní místa, instituce a aktéry spojené s řeckou dluhovou krizí: *Greece, EU, IMF, Athens, Greeks*. Pozornost je v této fázi věnována gramatickým (zejména předložkovým kolokátům). Kolokáty této kategorie tvoří společně s klíčovými slovy spojení/vzorce, které se, vzhledem k samostatné frekvenci výskytu těchto jednotek, jinak nedostanou do centra pozornosti skrze seznam klíčových slov. V sekci 5.1. jsou prezentovány poznatky získané z analýzy těchto gramatických kolokátů, jež vykazovaly relevanci pro zvolený výzkum. Zkoumány jsou primárně konkordance nejtypičtějších pozic těchto gramatických jednotek. V rámci kvalitativní analýzy konkordancí je pak pozornost věnována lexikálním jednotkám v přímém okolí zkoumaných struktur.

Dle poznatků získaných na základě této části výzkumu *Guardian* nevykazuje znaky ani jednoho z pěti hlavních indikátorů negativního (stereotypního) postoje k Řecku typického pro věřitelské státy severní Evropy. Deník zároveň neprezentuje přímý opak této narativy - tj. interpretaci krize vlastní zadluženým státům jihu. Dle výsledků analýzy podává *the Guardian* komplexní, nestereotypní obraz krize, ve kterém jsou zohledňovány vnitrostátní problémy Řecka přispívající k vzniklé situaci, a kde je zároveň kladen důraz na zobrazení Řecka jako země podrobené škodlivému vnějšímu působení v podobě řešení krize ze strany tzv. Trojky (EU, ECB, IMF). Právě silný důraz na negativní (kritické) vykreslení úsporných opatření stanovených Trojkou výměnou za finanční pomoc, společně s věnováním pozornosti negativním dopadům těchto kroků na běžné řecké obyvatelstvo, staví tento deník v rámci diskurzního

rámce evropské ekonomické krize na stranu narativy zastávané zadluženými zeměmi. Výzkum ukazuje, že *Guardian* je proevropským listem podporujícím myšlenku evropské jednoty/solidarity a (politické) integrace. V souvislosti s řeckou dluhovou krizí však převládá levicové, liberální a sociálně orientované zaměření deníku nad jeho obecně kladným postojem vůči konceptu Evropské unii.

Sekce 5.2. se věnuje metaforickému jazyku v *the Guardian*. Analýza se zaměřuje na čtyři klíčová slova tvořící kolokační fráze/abstraktní koncepty, jež hrají významnou roli v kontextu řecké dluhové krize - konkrétně *debt crisis* (dluhová krize) a *austerity measures* (úsporná opatření). Analýza těchto klíčových slov se zaměřuje pouze na lexikálními kolokáty, poněvadž metaforický jazyk není vázán na konkrétní realizace/struktury. Poznatky získané v této části analýzy ukazují, že v souvislosti s dluhovou krizí a úspornými opatřeními *Guardian* pracuje se dvěma oblastmi metaforického mapování - konkrétně tematickou oblastí negativních přírodních sil s ničivým fyzickým dopadem, a oblastí negativních fyzikálních sil s negativním fyzickým (tělesným) vlivem. Oba tyto typy metaforického zobrazování jsou založeny na negativní evaluaci - Řecko je prezentováno jako země čelící negativním (škodlivým) externím vlivům. Tato zjištění jsou důležitá zejména u konceptu úsporných opatření. Z analýzy vyplývá, že metaforický jazyk užívaný *Guardianem* v souvislosti s tímto konceptem se podílí na silně negativní (kritické) prezentaci úsporných kroků, ze kterého zároveň vyplývá i celkový negativní postoj deníku k řešení krize ze strany Trojky/EU. Metaforická konceptualizace úsporných opatření je v *the Guardian* součástí dominantního diskurzního rámce nazvaného v rámci výzkumu 'Řecko jako země čelící negativnímu vnějším vlivům/rozhodování vnějších autorit'.

Analýzy představené v sekcích 5.2 a 5.1 společně poskytují komplexní obraz diskurzu na téma řecké dluhové krize v deníku *the Guardian*. Srovnání získaných poznatků s výsledky analýzy E. Pavlakis ukazuje, že *Guardian* je se svým zobrazením řecké dluhové krize ve specifické pozici vůči srovnávaným deníkům z Británie (*the Sun*, *the Financial Times*). Na rozdíl od těchto tištěných médií *Guardian* nevykazuje žádný ze znaků narativy silných věřitelských států. Jelikož studie E. Pavlakis prokázala shodu mezi diskurzem v *the Sun* a *the Financial Times* a výsledky veřejných průzkumů v Británii, je zároveň možné říci, že *the Guardian* zastává v postoji k situaci v Řecku výjimečnou pozici i v celkovém kontextu britské společnosti.

Další zajímavý rozměr k těmto poznatkům by představovalo srovnání výsledků diplomové práce s jiným evropským deníkem vyznačujícím se, stejně jako *the Guardian*, komplexní výchozí pozicí ve vztahu k bilaterálnímu diskurznímu rámci evropské ekonomické krize. Na-

bízí se například srovnání s jedním z hlavních českých deníků s volně dostupným online zpravodajstvím - *MF Dnes*. *MF Dnes* je deník vydávaný v České republice - tedy v zemi patřící stejně jako Řecko mezi státy periferie EU (malé ekonomiky) a která současně není mezi nejsilnějšími věřiteli v rámci řecké dluhové krize (aspekty, které mluví ve prospěch narativy zastávané zadluženými jižanskými zeměmi). Česká republika se zároveň vyznačuje, byť v porovnání s Británií omezenějšími, euroskeptickými tendencemi. Tento postoj rezonuje právě v *MF Dnes*, která patří mezi pravicově orientované euroskeptické deníky (aspekty, které taktéž mohou značit náklonost k výše zmíněnému postoji). *MF Dnes* se ale zároveň, jako konzervativní/neoliberalní deník, nevyznačuje výrazným zájmem o sociální tematiku a dopad politických/ekonomických rozhodnutí na běžné obyvatelstvo (aspekt spojený s perspektivou zastávanou mezi věřitelskými zeměmi). Srovnání *the Guardian* s *MF Dnes* by proto mohlo poskytnout další pohled na stav negativního zobrazování Řecka v rámci širšího evropského rámce/mezi zeměmi, které nepatří k hlavním aktérům těchto událostí (věřitelé vs. dlužníci).

Appendix

- **A CD with the analysed data - i.e. *The Guardian GDC Corpus*** (texts spanning the period from October 2009 to August 2014). The corpus is provided in four files according to the four stages established for comparability of the collected data. In the study, these files were downloaded and analysed together in *WordSmith 6* (viz. Section 4.1.). Each article is saved in the notepad text editor -type of coding: Unicode. **The CD with the corpus is attached at the back of the publication.**
- **Section 4.2.3. - Table 3: The Guardian GDC Corpus KW Database (see below).**

	Texts	%	Overall Freq.	No Ass.	Associates
GREECE	217	91.56	1787	97	crisis·eurozone·bailout·debt·eu·athens·greek·s
S	188	79.32	1807	97	bailout·eurozone·greeks·debt·eu·athens·greek·greece
GREEK	134	56.54	820	96	crisis·eu·debt·bailout·eurozone·athens·s·greece
ATHENS	92	38.82	401	89	country·austerity·crisis·eu·greeks·greek·s·greece
EU	75	31.65	357	88	bailout·debt·euro·athens·eurozone·greek·s·greece
DEBT	67	28.27	465	84	eu·country·imf·bailout·eurozone·greek·s·greece
EUROZONE	65	27.43	332	82	eu·european·debt·euro·s·greek·bailout·greece
BAILOUT	61	25.74	258	86	euro·imf·eu·debt·greek·s·eurozone·greece
CRISIS	56	23.63	313	79	debt·euro·athens·eu·greeks·greek·s·greece
GREEKS	52	21.94	237	74	papandreou·austerity·country·crisis·greek·athens·s·greece
AUSTERITY	50	21.10	215	83	papandreou·imf·greeks·athens·greek·measures·s·greece
EURO	50	21.10	238	80	markets·european·bailout·eu·greek·s·eurozone·greece
PAPANDREOU	45	18.99	207	75	measures·referendum·debt·austerity·eu·greek·s·greece
IMF	44	18.57	245	71	eurozone·eu·austerity·greek·bailout·debt·s·greece
COUNTRY	36	15.19	264	71	crisis·eu·greek·athens·greeks·debt·s·greece
EUROPEAN	33	13.92	251	66	currency·eu·bailout·s·euro·greece·greek·eurozone
MERKEL	27	11.39	157	63	european·sarkozy·germany·eurozone·euro·greece·s·greek

MEASURES	25	10.55	140	55	country·imf·athens·debt·papandreou·s·greece·austerity
GOVERNMENT	19	8.02	164	49	tax·venizelos·papandreou·political·broadcaster·greek·s·greece
MARKETS	19	8.02	87	57	greek·eurozone·papandreou·eu·bailout·s·greece·euro
SAMARAS	19	8.02	78	54	greeks·merkel·troika·greek·syryza·greece·athens·s
TROIKA	19	8.02	77	53	samaras·austerity·debt·eurozone·athens·s·greek·greece
DAWN	18	7.59	163	25	samaras·political·athens·immigrants·greece·s·party·golden
DEFAULT	18	7.59	86	53	country·euro·s·debt·banks·greek·eurozone·greece
GERMAN	18	7.59	122	49	euro·austerity·greek·merkel·germans·s·greece·germany
GOLDEN	18	7.59	160	27	samaras·political·immigrants·athens·greece·s·party·dawn
CREDITORS	17	7.17	61	53	default·greek·eurozone·private·bailout·s·greece·debt
GERMANY	16	6.75	102	47	eu·euro·berlin·greek·s·merkel·greece·german
RESCUE	15	6.33	61	50	imf·european·s·athens·package·greece·euro·eu
LEADERS	14	5.91	74	49	greece·eu·s·bailout·brussels·european·euro·eurozone
PARTY	14	5.91	122	26	athens·political·s·greece·immigrants·golden·dawn
BANKS	13	5.49	68	42	eu·debt·eurozone·greece·greek·default
BRUSSELS	13	5.49	46	47	currency·greece·s·greek·leaders·euro·eurozone·european
DEFICIT	13	5.49	56	37	eurozone·fiscal·gdp·measures·eu·papandreou·s·greece
EUROPE	13	5.49	99	42	eu·eurozone·crisis·euro·merkel·greece·s·european
GDP	13	5.49	63	40	eurozone·s·eu·restructuring·deficit·debt·economy·greece
CURRENCY	12	5.06	71	42	summit·eu·brussels·greek·greece·eurozone·european·euro
ECONOMY	12	5.06	69	42	greek·athens·austerity·s·gdp·imf·greece·debt
POLITICAL	12	5.06	90	43	greek·eu·greece·syryza·government·party·s
T	12	5.06	107	33	greek·don·athens·crisis·greece·greeks·s·says
FISCAL	11	4.64	41	38	austerity·s·european·deficit·greece

SARKOZY	11	4.64	50	43	european·bailout·referendum·eurozone·summit·greek·euro·merkel
SYRIZA	11	4.64	53	36	athens·political·greece·democracy·s·samaras·tsipras
#	10	4.22	358	31	bailout·eu·greek·crisis·s·unemployment·greece
COUNTRIES	10	4.22	58	37	euro·imf·europe·currency·s·greece·european
DEMOCRACY	10	4.22	44	35	eu·s·greek·samaras·syria·greece
PARLIAMENT	10	4.22	53	38	austerity·samaras·papandreou·greece·athens·s·measures
REFERENDUM	10	4.22	64	36	greece·bailout·greek·s·eurozone·vote·euro·papandreou
BERLIN	9	3.80	42	42	eurozone·bailout·brussels·s·greece·european·merkel·germany
ECB	9	3.80	41	34	markets·imf·default·s·debt·bailout·greece·eurozone
FINANCIAL	9	3.80	45	36	euro·eurozone·s·greece·greek
FUND	9	3.80	59	38	euro·bailout·greece·imf·bonds·debt·eurozone·greek
INVESTORS	9	3.80	49	28	debt·greek·greece·s
TAX	9	3.80	85	31	austerity·papandreou·imf·greek·s·government·greece
BONDS	8	3.38	32	31	s·eurozone·default·greece·fund·greek·debt
FINANCE	8	3.38	38	34	euro·troika·greek·greece·s·eurozone·bailout
HAS	8	3.38	158	36	austerity·greece·country·s·athens·greek·crisis
LOANS	8	3.38	30	31	european·eu·eurozone·merkel·athens·greece·rescue
PROTESTERS	8	3.38	37	26	s·greece·papandreou·athens
REFORMS	8	3.38	32	34	eu·papandreou·greek·athens·greece·s
SAID	8	3.38	115	27	athens·s·bailout·greece
SAYS	8	3.38	83	38	greece·s·crisis·tsipras·t
SUMMIT	8	3.38	29	31	bailout·currency·merkel·sarkozy·euro·imf·eu·european
VENIZELOS	8	3.38	43	35	samaras·government·papandreou·greece·s·bailout·vote·pasok
VOTE	8	3.38	42	37	euro·greece·s·eurozone·venizelos·papandreou·referendum
IMMIGRANTS	7	2.95	26	15	athens·greece·s·golden·dawn·party
MINISTER	7	2.95	48	28	bailout·athens·greece·s
PRIVATE	7	2.95	43	34	greek·debt·eurozone·greece·default·bailout·creditors

RESTRUCTURING	7	2.95	31	31	imf·s·greek·greece·gdp·debt
UNEMPLOYMENT	7	2.95	35	20	s·austerity·greece·imf·#·recession
CUTS	6	2.53	29	28	debt·s·athens·country·greece·default
DON	6	2.53	24	24	athens·crisis·s·country·greece·greeks·t
ECONOMIC	6	2.53	48	28	greek·greece·crisis
ELECTIONS	6	2.53	29	26	s·greek·greece
EVASION	6	2.53	16	18	s·greece
EXIT	6	2.53	23	30	euro·european·greek·greece·eurozone
GERMANS	6	2.53	27	17	greek·bailout·greece·s·greeks·germany·german
POLICE	6	2.53	59	11	greece·athens
PUBLIC	6	2.53	48	29	greek·greeks·greece·papandreou·s
SCHÄUBLE	6	2.53	25	29	s·bailout·greek·euro·greece·eurozone·default
SECTOR	6	2.53	29	23	s·greece·papandreou·measures
TSIPRAS	6	2.53	24	28	athens·greece·greeks·s·country·says·syria
WILL	6	2.53	106	30	greek·athens·eurozone·crisis·austerity·greece
BROADCASTER	5	2.11	19	14	greece·s·greek·government
ITS	5	2.11	60	26	greek·greece·s
JUNCKER	5	2.11	14	25	greece·eurozone·greek·s
LAGARDE	5	2.11	19	20	greece·s·greek
LENDERS	5	2.11	19	25	greece·s·eu·austerity·troika
PACKAGE	5	2.11	28	28	euro·imf·european·eu·rescue
PAPADEMOS	5	2.11	26	29	greece·s
PASOK	5	2.11	16	26	greece·eu·papandreou·s·venizelos
PAY	5	2.11	38	17	greece·s·athens
RATING	5	2.11	27	22	greece·s·eu·papandreou
RECESSION	5	2.11	25	22	greece·debt·eurozone·imf·unemployment
SYNTAGMA	5	2.11	19	18	greece·measures
THE	5	2.11	670	22	greece·greek
UK	5	2.11	32	15	s·greek
WOULD	5	2.11	72	25	s·greek·euro